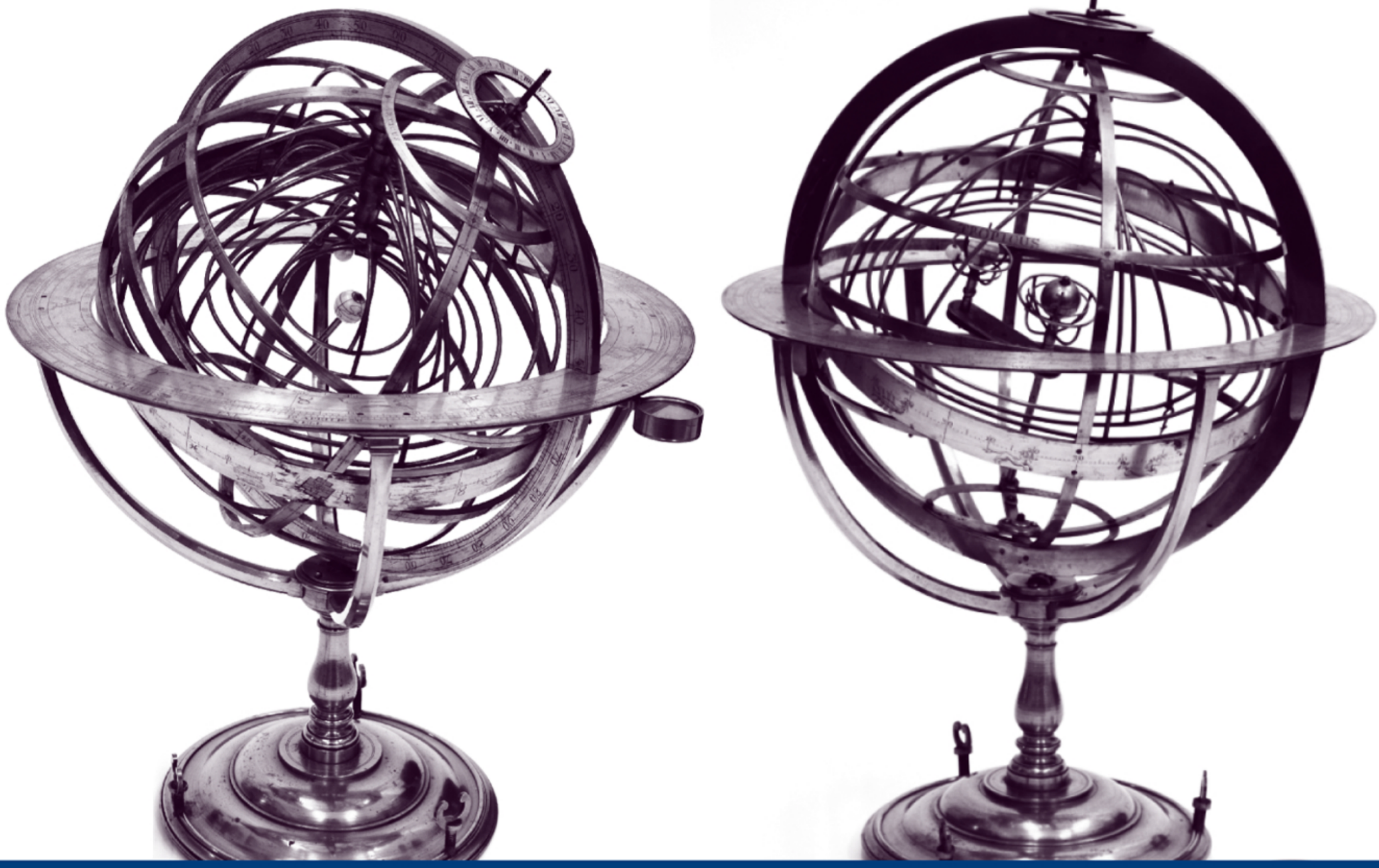

Authority, Innovation and Early Modern Epistemology

Essays in Honour of Hilary Gatti

Edited by Martin McLaughlin,
Ingrid D. Rowland and Elisabetta Tarantino

LEGENDA

Modern Humanities Research Association and Routledge

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University Press, 2008) and Giordano Bruno, *On the Heroic Frenzies, A Translation of 'De gli eroici furori'*, text ed. by Eugenio Canone (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

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INTRODUCTION

❖

Martin McLaughlin, Ingrid D. Rowland and Elisabetta Tarantino

At the start of her recent collection, *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), Hilary Gatti analysed the opening sentences of the philosopher's *La cena de le ceneri* [The Ash Wednesday Supper] (1584), noting how Bruno begins in a scintillating, half-ironic way with a description not of what the book is but of what it is not:

> Both classical and Biblical antiquity are eliminated in a trice as the reader learns that the supper in question is not a celestial banquet with Jupiter as its host, nor a supper in Paradise with our first parents, Adam and Eve. The first sentence, which occupies half the opening page of the book, continues by summarily deleting a string of other celebrated, mythical suppers, thus ushering the reader into the reality of the modern world.

Much of Hilary Gatti's work in this area has been about precisely this, how Bruno's work takes us to the heart of what the modern world is about. However, while she is best known for her recent historical work on Bruno, in fact she began her scholarly career as a literary scholar (as one can see from the Bibliography of her works published at the end of this festschrift). Hardy, Golding, Lawrence were early objects of her scholarship, and her first book-length studies were on theatre and lyric poetry (specifically on Shakespeare in nineteenth-century Milanese theatres, and on English Romantic poetry). It was in the 1980s that she turned her attention to Bruno and to early modern culture and science: to date she has published four major volumes on the Nolan philosopher, several of which (such as the 1989 Routledge book on the *Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*) have become classic reference points for scholarship in this field, while her most recent monograph deals with the concept of Liberty from Machiavelli to Milton.

In order to reflect these two major areas of scholarship, literature and challenges to authority in early modern culture, this volume in honour of Hilary Gatti is divided into two roughly equal parts, broadly devoted to literature and epistemology. Part I (Authority and Innovation in Renaissance Literature) deals with different ways of contesting authority in Renaissance literary texts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from Alberti to the Italian Academies; Part II (Bruno, Campanella and Other Challenges to Religious Authority) deals of course with the central character of Bruno, but also with other 'challenging' figures such as Campanella, and with key events (the opening up of commerce and religious dealings with the Far East, and the rise of secular psychology) which posed problems for the Catholic Church.

In the first chapter Martin McLaughlin examines a little-studied work by Leon Battista Alberti, his *Musca*, a rewriting of the Greek satirist Lucian's *Eulogy of the Fly*. The chapter outlines a number of areas in which Alberti can be seen

as a forerunner of Giordano Bruno, particularly in his humour, his fondness for Lucian, his linguistic experimentalism and his implicit secularism. This brief Latin eulogy is clearly a challenge to the ancient writer Lucian: it is a rewriting but with more humour, a stronger ethical dimension, and a substantial Roman element, all of which contest the authority of the Greek original. It also challenges recent humanist translations of Lucian, since Alberti aims not at a faithful version but at an original rewriting of the eulogy.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the Latin poetry of Pontano and his followers. In it Carlo Caruso shows how the Neapolitan poet invented a new myth to rival the founding myth of modern poetry revived by Petrarch, that of Apollo and Daphne. Instead Pontano reinvents the myth of Adonis to suggest that oranges not laurels are the appropriate symbol of the new poetry, a suitable reward for modern poets in competition with ancient predecessors. Pontano's *Horti Hesperidum* challenged the great didactic poem of antiquity, Virgil's *Georgics*, and in this he was followed by many didactic poets in the sixteenth century, such as Fracastoro. These poets rejected Bembo's criticisms of Pontano's inventions of new myths, as well as his new theory of imitation of Petrarch and Virgil in poetry. Caruso notes that this sense of challenge to and rejection of the laurel enjoys surprising longevity and continues in the Italian poetic tradition at least up until Montale's opening poem of *Ossi di seppia*, 'I limoni'.

Nicola Gardini's chapter on Celio Calcagnini's moral treatise *De profectu* shows how the Ferranese writer's deployment of the shadow motif anticipates in some thematic respects Bruno's early *De umbris idearum*. But the *De profectu* is also seen as a rewriting of another Greek text, Plutarch's *How a Man May Become Aware of His Progress in Virtue*, so it belongs to the tradition of rewriting already highlighted in the first chapter. Like Pontano, Calcagnini also invents a new myth, this time the fable of *skiamachia* or fighting with one's shadow. The writer from Ferrara was a polymath, who wrote on a wide range of subjects, and was independent enough to prefer Pliny the Elder to Cicero as a writer of Latin. In another link with Bruno, the *De profectu* emerges as an interesting example of mnemonic procedures, with Calcagnini's range of quotation, misquotation and reinvention.

The Italian vernacular also provided areas of challenge to authority. In chapter 4, Lina Bolzoni shows how Vasari uses the words of early vernacular writers (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio) and also contemporary poets (Ariosto) as *auctoritates* in the new field of vernacular art-history writing. Vasari is seen as being au fait with the *querelle des femmes* that characterized writing in the *volgare* in the Cinquecento: he cites a contemporary author, Ariosto (*Orlando Furioso*, xx), for his questioning of who creates tradition (especially at a time when many illustrious women writers populated the literary scene). Throughout his *Lives* Vasari seeks authority from the great writers, even when dealing with contemporary artists such as Michelangelo: the art historian's praise of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel is bolstered by a quotation from one of Michelangelo's favourite poets, Dante. Time and again in Vasari *pictura* turns to *poesis* for support.

Jane Everson's chapter raises questions about a new area of enquiry that has been opened up by a recent research project on the Italian Academies. The writings

by Academy members raise major issues about literary and more broadly cultural authority and innovation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What is the standing of occasional poetry in such a context? What is the status, for instance, of a minor lyric written for an Academy by a major poet such as Tasso or Della Casa? She examines three collections of occasional poetry produced in the Cinquecento and explores significant issues about the aesthetic qualities and functionality of such compositions. When Tasso writes an Academy poem on the death of a little bird, he of course imitates Catullus's poem 3 on the death of Lesbia's sparrow, but here we find what Everson terms 'mediated occasionality', since Tasso's poem is a literary rewriting of another occasional but canonical poem. The chapter demonstrates the fallacy of equating occasionality with the superficial, and highlights a number of poems that anticipate the major challenge to the poetic tradition that would be typical of Seicento literature. Overall the chapter attempts to rebalance the literary tradition and revise the literary canon by re-inserting such poems into the milieu for which they were created.

The final chapter of Part I, chapter 6, deals with questions of metrical authority in early modern English verse and forms a link with the opening chapters of Part II which concern Giordano Bruno's time in England at the end of the sixteenth century. Stephen Orgel explores the attempt to graft onto English poetry the quantitative metrics typical of Latin and Greek verse. He underlines the fact that, in the late sixteenth century, quantitative verse was a real possibility entertained by a number of serious poets such as Philip Sidney, the dedicatee of some of Bruno's major works. The example he studies in depth is a fine translation of one of Ovid's *Heroides* where Penelope sends a letter to the absent Ulysses: Orgel shows that Byrd's setting of the poem respected the quantitative verse rules systematically, with long syllables set as half-notes and short ones as quarter-notes. The phenomenon of quantitative metrics clearly raises questions about authority in that it challenges the orthodoxy of English accentual metrics by appealing to an even more ancient authority, classical metres.

Part II consists of seven chapters, this time dealing with major figures such as Bruno and Campanella and with key challenges to the authority of the Catholic Church (the opening up of the East to missionary work, and the advent of early modern psychology). The first four chapters concern Giordano Bruno, the fifth Campanella and the final two exploit the recently opened Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (formerly the Holy Office).

Eugenio Canone's chapter offers a broad portrait of Giordano Bruno, outlining the consistency of his approach to authority in a range of areas: philosophy, theology, literature. It moves from his earliest works such as the Latin *De umbris idearum* (1582) to the major vernacular dialogues such as *De gli eroici furori* and late works such as *De triplici minimo* (1591). What emerges is a precise philosophical programme which goes from the claim to freedom of expression in any branch of philosophy to Bruno's championing of the doctrines of the ancient Egyptians, Chaldeans and Presocratics. That recurrent object of ridicule in Bruno's works, the pedant, is seen as not only someone who is attached to the past as far as grammar is concerned, but also in the major knowledge fields of philosophy, theology and science. Canone shows

that Bruno's English period (1583–85) was a crucial, formative experience, one that forged his identity as a philosopher opposed to any empty appeals to authority.

Chapter 8, by Elisabetta Tarantino, follows on directly from Hilary Gatti's work, and draws on several of her essays that deal with the presence of Giordano Bruno in early modern English drama. The chapter takes as its starting point Gatti's demonstration in an article from 2012 of the presence of Bruno's 1582 play, *Candelaio*, in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*. Besides offering further evidence of intertextual links between these authors, the chapter explores the rationale for the use of Bruno's work in those two comedies, demonstrating that it lies in a shared critique of extreme Protestant or Puritan attitudes. Tarantino concludes with the suggestion of a line of English comedies springing more or less directly from *Candelaio* that commemorated the 1572 St Bartholomew massacre at ten-year intervals, plays which appeared to offer advice for averting future instances of large-scale religiously-motivated violence.

The next chapter, by Tiziana Provvidera, approaches Bruno in England from a historical angle, outlining the Italian philosopher's links with the printer John Charlewood and teasing out the political and religious implications of the latter's involvement with various patrons such as the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Oxford. The malleability of Bruno's political and religious positioning in this period reflects the wider kaleidoscopic shifts of alliances of Charlewood and the main author of the books he printed in the explosive decade of the 1580s, Anthony Munday. The chapter provides a detailed picture of the complex backdrop against which to contextualize Bruno's activities and contacts in England. Provvidera also shows convincingly how some of the changes made by Bruno in the second version of the *Cena de le ceneri* were motivated by the complex, shifting political and religious climate in 1580s England.

Chapter 10, by Ingrid Rowland, is concerned with Bruno and Caravaggio and highlights the striking similarities in the world-view of both men: just as Bruno fought against transcendentalism in religion and philosophy, arguing that God existed only in the world of the here and now, so Caravaggio's art famously portrayed real people, shepherds with dirty feet rather than the ethereal characters that inhabited the works of a High Renaissance painter such as Raphael. The chapter also suggests that another victim of Papal justice in 1599, Beatrice Cenci, could have been in the artist's mind as he painted *Judith and Holofernes* (1599), portraying another female avenger. Indeed, Rowland surmises, Caravaggio may have seen Bruno himself as he was paraded down the Via Papalis towards the stake in Campo de' Fiori on the morning of 17 February 1600. The chapter points out that the philosopher and the artist thought along similar lines, partly because of character but also because of the general *Zeitgeist*. Bruno's approach was a harbinger of Galileo and the scientific revolution, just as Caravaggio's highly realistic art displayed a revolutionary immediacy.

Germana Ernst's chapter deals with a figure of the generation after Bruno, another Dominican from Southern Italy, Tommaso Campanella, whose thought was also affected by the astronomical discoveries taking place in his lifetime. Ernst shows how this Dominican remained in close contact with his friend

Galileo and continually modified his philosophical views in the light of the latter's astronomical observations. Galileo, like Bruno, was put on trial by the Inquisition and Campanella famously defended the scientist. The chapter homes in on a key moment where the Dominican writes a commentary on a Latin poem by Cardinal Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII: here Campanella actually quotes Giordano Bruno à propos of Barberini's poem which praised Galileo's discoveries regarding sun-spots. The development of Campanella's philosophy was marked by a return to Pythagoreanism, but at the same time it embraced recent scientific discoveries: he acknowledges that the works of Copernicus and Galileo had been put on the Index, but he insists their theories can be mentioned and treated as hypotheses. Campanella's mentions of Bruno show that he was not part of that conspiracy of silence that surrounded the Nolan philosopher's name in the early modern period.

The final two chapters exploit the recent opening of the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (ACDF), formerly the Holy Office, where the historical archives of the Inquisition and the Index are now kept. Marta Fattori's chapter provides an insight into the inner workings of the Vatican as it struggles to respond to the historic first Embassy from Japan in 1615. Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga, a noble Samurai, accompanied the Franciscan Friar Luis Sotelo on this mission, in which the two men were the ambassadors of a local Japanese lord, Date Masamune, King of 'Voxu' (*i.e.* Daimyo of Oshu), founder of the city of Sendai. The documents in the chapter's Appendix contain both official letters in Latin from the Japanese delegation, and the unofficial positioning of the Cardinals as they advise Papal secretaries on what the Pope's official reply should be. The Vatican discussions revolve around doctrinal questions such as the baptism of the king, the appointment of bishops, the sending of relics and so on, but in the background we are aware that this is an embassy primarily about the trade that the Japanese want to establish with the King of Spain. In the end the delegation came to little as an increasingly isolationist Japan closed itself off from the West: no new embassy would be sent for another 200 years.

The final chapter, by Leen Spruit, also exploits the unstudied documents in the ACDF, but this time to chart the Church's reactions to and sanctions against early modern psychology. It offers an outline of Catholic censorship of psychological views during the period between the rise of the Roman Congregations of the Inquisition (1543) and of the Index (1572), and the first prohibitions of modern philosophy in the second half of the seventeenth century. In a series of case-studies of censorship against thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spruit shows how varied the Inquisitors' responses could be: at times condemning only parts of certain works, at times banning the whole work until corrected ('donec corrigatur'), at times issuing an outright ban which however in a number of cases was totally ignored by the author or which was later revoked. Authors such as Francesco Patrizi, Giordano Bruno, Domenico Beccoli and Cesare Cremonini are considered and the various bans that were issued against them. But as in the previous chapter, what emerges here is the wide range of opinions expressed behind the scenes before the monolithic official responses are reached.

These essays are offered to Hilary Gatti as an act of homage to a major scholar

but also as an appropriate gift, we hope, to a friend. They reflect two major areas where she has established herself as an expert, literature and epistemology. They are, of course, not intended as an exhaustive account of authority, innovation and epistemology in the early modern period in Europe, but they do provide analyses of a series of inflections of these themes in that period which became the main focus of Hilary Gatti's scholarly expertise. They reflect the fact that the scholars in this volume share Hilary's view of the crucial importance of this epoch as the beginning of the modern age, when classical and religious authorities and certainties are first seriously challenged.

PART I

Authority and Innovation in Renaissance Literature

CHAPTER 1

❖

Alberti's *Musca*: Humour, Ethics and the Challenge to Classical Models

Martin McLaughlin

In the last part of his dedication of *De gli eroici furori* (1585) to Philip Sidney, a passage carefully analysed by Hilary Gatti, Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) states that Petrarch's poems about his 'vulgar, animal, and bestial' love of Laura are mere rhetorical exercises that imitate the classical eulogies of the fly, the beetle, the ass, Silenus and Priapus.[1] Given the subject matter of Bruno's list of eulogies, it is clear that one of the authors he is alluding to here is the Greek writer, Lucian.[2] In fact Petrarch had never read Lucian, but over a century before Bruno, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) had exhibited a precocious taste for the works of the ancient satirist and other comic literature, even going so far as to compose his own eulogy of the fly, *Musca* (*c.* 1442–43), modelled on the Greek author's *Encomium muscae*.[3] Scholars have already outlined some of the links between Bruno and Alberti, particularly in relation to the latter's *Intercenales* and *Momus*.[4] This chapter considers instead Alberti's affinities with and distance from Lucian, charting the differences between the humanist's eulogy of the fly and the Greek satirist's original encomium, and examining the way this Quattrocento predecessor of Bruno blends comedy, ethics and autobiography in his challenge to epistemological and literary authority.

The *Musca* has been relatively neglected by Alberti experts despite the recent revival of studies of the humanist that began with the sixth centenary of his birth in 2004.[5] While we await the definitive text of the eulogy in the Edizione Nazionale delle Opere dell'Alberti, we can consult three modern editions, by Grayson (1954), Contarino (1984) and Coppini (2010).[6] As for the text itself, Grayson offered important information on the three main manuscripts that transmit the work, suggesting that the Oxford MS (Bodleian, Canoniciano Misc. 172) is the most reliable expression of the author's text, though Coppini has more recently argued that the autograph Riccardiana codex (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 767) should carry more weight, given that it contains corrections that are certainly in the author's own hand.[7]

There are very few critical studies of Alberti's *Musca*. Already back in 1954 Grayson outlined the main characteristics of the work, pointing out that the eulogy

was not a pedestrian imitation of Lucian's *Encomium muscae*, but rather a total rewriting of it in a different spirit, a lighter work with a greater emphasis on amusement than in the Greek original.[8] But Grayson also observed that Alberti adds to his more humorous encomium 'uno sfondo morale tutto suo', notably in his praise of the fly's active, virtuous existence, and he concluded that although the *Musca* was a 'scherzo letterario' it was closely aligned in its ethical attitudes with the humanist's more serious vernacular works such as the *De familia*, *Theogenius* and the *Profugiorum ab erumna libri*.[9] In the notes to his edition Grayson provided a number of references to these three major dialogues, and this linking of the Latin *Musca* with these works in the *volgare* was also the line pursued by more recent critics such as Bonaria and Contarino.[10] The few other secondary works that deal with *Musca* do not go much further than Grayson's definition of it, simply mentioning both the humorous and ethical dimensions of the text in the few pages they devote to the eulogy.[11] In what follows I shall argue that Alberti's *Musca* is not to be compared so much with vernacular dialogues like *De familia*, *Theogenius* or the *Profugiorum ab erumna libri*, but rather is part of that strain of autobiographical writings that is already present in two previous works, the funeral oration for his dog, *Canis* (1438), and the autobiography, *Vita* (*c.* 1438–41): in fact, these three Latin works, written over a space of five years, form a kind of trilogy or triptych which celebrates, of course, the author's love of humour and the serious ethical ideals he championed in all his works, but all three texts also exhibit Alberti's compulsion to write about himself even when praising dogs or flies. In particular, in this chapter I shall examine the structure of the *Musca*, its relationship to the *Canis* and the *Vita*, and its significant areas of difference from Lucian's *Encomium muscae* (notably the two aspects outlined by Grayson, the humorous and ethical ones, as well as a third area not mentioned by other critics, the strong Roman dimension in this Latin rewriting of a Greek eulogy).

1. Structure

The links between Alberti's *Canis* and *Musca* are confirmed not just by similarities of content but also by their remarkably similar structure. The former began with a proem, followed by five clearly distinct sections, as follows:[12]

Canis: Structure

Proem: the tradition of funeral orations

(1). famous dogs in history, and his own dog's ancestry
(2). the dog's warlike character
(3). his 'peaceful' qualities: physical grace, versatile *ingenium*, moderation and cult of friendship
(4). his *mores* and education
(5). his victories and virtues: battles on land, sea and walls

Conclusion: death by poisoning and final summary of his virtues

Similarly the *Musca* contains a proem and conclusion, and inside this framework the eulogy is structured round five separate sections, which are very similar in general contents to the five main divisions of the *Canis*:

Musca: Structure

Proem: men should look at what is before their eyes to learn how to behave

(1). ancestry: flies are descended from Centaurs/Bellona, given their military qualities
(2). military discipline: the fly can defeat an elephant or bull
(3). arts of peace: noted for its innocence and Aeneas-like *pietas*
(4). its *mores* and *artes*: the fly is religious, a born investigator; its contributions to music and mathematics
(5). defence of its virtues against critics: the fly is never idle, but is sometimes trapped by the secret spider

Conclusion: he would like to say something about their deeds and sayings but a great swarm of flies has arrived to thank the orator with their kisses

Thus Alberti uses the same five-part structure for both orations, emphasizing the animal's ancestry, its warlike then peaceful virtues, its mores and contribution to the arts, before offering a final resumé of its positive qualities. Each eulogy follows closely the shape of other orations, both classical and humanistic;[13] and in the second and third sections the division of each animal's achievements into military and peaceful virtues probably derives from a similar division in Livy's portrait of one of Alberti's recurrent models for the versatile man, Cato the Elder.[14]

2. Links with the *Canis* and the *Vita*

In an earlier discussion of the eulogy for his dog I outlined the strong autobiographical links between the *Canis* and the *Vita*, especially in the former's stress on a number of qualities that Alberti attributes to himself in the autobiography: 1) the versatility of both the man and the dog, including an interest in philosophy, music and mathematics; 2) a strong work ethic; 3) a cult of friendship; 4) affability and patience in dealing with enemies; 5) openness of behaviour but also a respect for secrets; 6) castigation of the foolish with appropriate sayings.[15] The eulogy of the fly contains all of these elements, either implicitly or explicitly, as we shall see.

(1) As for the first quality, versatility, there may be little explicit mention of the fly's all-round brilliance but it is certainly implied in this central passage which highlights the insect's wide-ranging intellectual curiosity:

> What is more fitting for a prudent being than to know by itself what particular task it has been born to carry out? [...] The fly knows that it has been born to pursue the investigation and knowledge of things and recognizes that it has been endowed with enormous eyes. These eyes can easily discover what lies hidden beyond the heavens, or in the depths of the earth or outside the borders of its own region and indeed beyond the last horizon. As a result, one wonders in what operation could the fly be more appropriately occupied — guided as it is by nature, and accompanied by its own wisdom — than in that very pursuit whereby, thanks to its zealous study, nothing that is hidden escapes its researches.[16]

The thought here is very close to the idea found repeatedly in the *Canis* and the *Vita* that the versatile person (or dog) gives the impression that each thing they do is done so well that they seem to have been born for that pursuit alone — another

concept that Alberti found in Livy's portrait of Cato the Elder (*Ab urbe condita*, xxxix. 40) and recycled on several occasions.[17]

As for the other arts, the fly, like Alberti's dog and Alberti himself in the autobiography, is interested in music: at the start we are told that in all its journeys the insect makes a noise that sounds like a military bugle ['privatis quibusque suis in profectionibus, continuo classicum aliquid pro more canere', *Musca*, p. 1018], and it also has a tuneful voice ['voce canora', *Musca*, p. 1018]. Just over half way through the eulogy, in the fourth section on the fly's *mores* and contribution to the arts, Alberti notes that it was the fly who inspired the Pythagoreans to give the name 'music' to the different inflections of the voice and singing ['Vocum rationem et canendi modos, qua maiorem in modum delectantur Pythagorici, a musca musicam nuncupavere', *Musca*, p. 1021];[18] and he provides a witty etymology associated with their name, claiming that the word music (*musica*) derives from the word for fly (*musca*). In a further humanistic joke about scribal errors, he argues that in the famous story about Pythagoras sacrificing to the Muses in gratitude for them having inspired him to discover his famous theorem, actually the Greek philosopher made his sacrifice to the flies (*muscis*), but the text which recounted that tale was faulty as ignorant scribes had mistakenly written that he had sacrificed to the Muses (*musis*) (*Musca*, p. 1021).[19]

In this same fourth section on the insect's contribution to the arts, Alberti claims that flies also contributed to the development of mathematics as well as music, since it was on their wings that mathematicians rose up to contemplate the heavens and the stars ['At mathematicos quis negarit muscarum alis celum sideraque ipsa conscendisse?', *Musca*, p. 1021]. Astronomers and geometers could see the great rivers and mountains of the world depicted on flies' wings and were thus helped in their celestial calculations and drawing of maps. Thus overall, there is implicit praise of the fly's versatility, since it possesses both warlike and peacetime virtues, and — like the dog — it makes contributions to natural philosophy, music and mathematics.[20]

(2) Secondly, there is repeated emphasis on the fly's work ethic: endowed with its huge eyes, it travels far and wide in search of knowledge, it is never idle and to the best of its ability it encourages the lazy to action, as is its duty ['Nusquam quidem otiosa est, desidesque pro officio, quoad in se est, acrius exercet', *Musca*, p. 1022]. Its idle detractors, says Alberti, should rather imitate this small insect and not lead their lives buried in sleep, for the fly never rests from the pursuit of virtue by day, and it also spends most of the night not sleeping but, freed from its active duties, meditating on serious questions ['Peniteat aliquando per ignaviam somno sepultam vitam degere, et imitasse quidem muscam decet, que cum interdiu nusquam a cultu virtutis cesset, tum et noctem a forensi opere vacua in meditatione rerum maiorum magna ex parte insomnem ducit', *Musca*, p. 1022]. In their equanimity and fearless pursuit of knowledge he compares flies to great philosophers and tireless searchers after wisdom such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Pliny the Elder and Archimedes.[21]

(3) As for friendship, in the early section on their peacetime habits, Alberti points out that their custom of always eating together makes them the inventors of the symposium, which was said (by Cato the Elder) also to be the generator of

friendship ['Una epulantur, una alacres, coactis in unum frontibus, amoris signum, ebibunt, docte quod aiunt convivium esse alumnum amicitie', *Musca*, p. 1019].[22] Indeed the most conspicuous sign of their comradeship is to be observed in the fact that when one of their number is tired, its friends support and carry it through the air on their shoulders, and it was for a similar display of *pietas* that Virgil raised Aeneas' fame beyond the stars ['Utrumne qua inter se pietate ac gratia convivant palam et in promptu parum est, quando fessas muscas ab amica submissis humeris toto portari ethere intueamur, quo uno solo pietatis merito effecit vates, ut se Eneas supra sidera notum gloriaretur?', *Musca*, p. 1019]. Friendship was of course a key characteristic in the subjects of the *Vita* and the *Canis*, and the topic of the final book of *De familia*.[23]

(4) Like Alberti himself, as described in the autobiography, and like the dog described in the *Canis*, the fly tolerates the foolishness, anger and violent attacks of others with moderation, guided as it is by its constant affability; and despite the insults, abuse, foul language and calumnies of the wicked, the insect is never guilty of dereliction of duty ['Aliorum ineptias et iracundas in se manus modice et modeste pro sua semper facilitate pertulit; conviciis, obtrectationibus, maledictis calumniisque improborum ab officio nusquam discessit', *Musca*, p. 1021]. Similarly Alberti's dog dealt with his insolent and arrogant enemies with lenience and affability, and in the autobiography the author tells us that he frustrated the attacks of the arrogant solely with his patience and constant pursuit of virtue.[24] The origins of these assaults were calumny and envy, two vices which Alberti constantly denounced. Calumny, which is also mentioned later in the eulogy ['Has nos calumnias non dicendi artibus [...] sed veritate ipsa abolebimus', *Musca*, p. 1022], is also present in the *Vita*, and perhaps most famously in Alberti's ekphrasis of Apelles's famous painting of this vice in *De pictura*.[25]

As for envy, this evil is mentioned several times in the *Musca*. The fly is not worn down by envy nor by any of the other vices which lead to sedition and discord ['non invidia, non ceteris aliis seditionum seminariis et discordiarum inritamentis exercetur musca', *Musca*, p. 1019]; nevertheless the orator is afraid that if he were to list meticulously all the fly's praises to the best of his ability, he would simply arouse the hatred of all envious people against himself ['Preterea multitudini imperitorum tam sunt musce invise, ut verear ne, si diligentius muscarum singulas laudes fuero prosecutus pro nostri ingenii viribus, omnium in me unum invidorum odia provocem', *Musca*, p. 1022]. At this point Alberti adds a further personal note in which envy is mentioned twice more: 'And I have experienced, at first hand, what envy on its own is capable of, as it is the ultimate evil amongst men; so for that reason I have decided deliberately to miss out many of the fly's good qualities, as I both distrust my capacity to do justice to them, and I am afraid of the envy that such a list would arouse.'[26] Not surprisingly, in the autobiography we find several mentions of this particular vice and of the modesty and equanimity with which the protagonist dealt with it.[27] Similarly in the funeral oration for his dog, the last paragraph of the *Canis* mentions envy as the motive for the animal's murder: 'my dog was taken from us by the poison administered by his envious and secret enemies'.[28] Envy and calumny haunted Alberti and are present throughout his

oeuvre, representing inimical forces not just to himself but also to his animal alter egos, his dog and the fly.

(5) On a more positive note, another common quality shared by the fly, the dog and Alberti himself, is the desire to operate in the open but never to give away secrets. The orator claims that the fly knows everything but — like Pompey — it would never reveal a secret, not even under torture (*Musca*, p. 1020); he asks if there was ever anything so private that we did which the fly did not witness and observe, and yet this insect has never brought us harm by telling people about it, so one must conclude that there is nothing the fly abhors so much as the wicked perfidy of the informant.[29] Alberti's dog had been praised in similar terms for always respecting his friends' secrets and the author uses an identical phrase about himself in the autobiography to emphasize his own sense of discretion.[30] All three works are thus clearly concerned with the idea of openness and virtue being threatened by envy and calumny, while the unusual emphasis on respect for secrets probably derives from the Pythagorean cult of secrecy.[31]

The *Musca* ends by underlining a strong contrast between the openness of the fly, operating in broad daylight, and the secret workings of its enemy, the spider: it is no wonder, says the speaker, that the fly, who is not cautious because its mind is always occupied with the pursuit of virtue, falls into the ambush set by the crafty spider. The latter is an expert in all the arts of warfare, and the fly is inevitably captured in this uneven struggle ['Quid mirum igitur si, incauta et animis ad cultum virtutis occupata, musca insidiis vafre et omnibus militie artibus callentis aranee iniquam in decertationem collapsa capitur?', *Musca*, p. 1023]. The spider hides and never comes out to the duel he has already prepared for in advance until he sees from the safety of his camp that his enemy, the fly, is caught up and totally impeded from movement by his web ['non tamen audet latitans prius paratum ad duellum erumpere aranea quam complicitum et penitus obstrictum hostem e castris intueatur', *Musca*, p. 1023]. In the end, even though the fly is the inventor of song and music, and breaks his heart singing for mercy, it cannot find any clemency in the cruel spider ['Musca, vocum cantusque inventrix, apud immanissimam Aragnem, fibras precordiorum canendo rumpens, nullam potest adinvenisse misericordiam', *Musca*, p. 1023].

(6) Lastly, Alberti was fond of quoting famous sayings and maxims, an idea he found in one of his favourite texts, Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the Philosophers*, which had been translated into Latin by Ambrogio Traversari in the early 1430s. Just as Diogenes ended each philosopher's life with a list of his best-known *sententiae*, so Alberti ended his autobiography with two such lists, thus presenting himself also as a philosopher.[32] In addition, another favourite source, Plutarch's *Life of Cato the Elder*, devoted two whole chapters to a list of the austere Censor's celebrated maxims.[33] Similarly, in the *Canis* we are told that the dog always greeted good dogs in a friendly way, whereas the lazy he rebuked with his sayings.[34] We have seen that the fly was praised for encouraging the lazy to become active (*Musca*, p. 1022), which implies the use of wise words, but the only explicit mention of the insect's famous maxims comes in the penultimate paragraph of the eulogy where the orator claims that he could add plenty of other details of the fly's memorable deeds and sayings ['Possent et pleraque adduci muscarum dicta factaque digna memoratu',

Musca, p. 1023], but he does not do so because a huge swarm of thankful flies has landed on him and smothered him with their kisses. In short, although there is less emphasis on the fly's versatility and capacity for famous sayings, the *Musca* certainly implies that the fly possesses both these qualities as well as explicitly mentioning all the other virtues attributed to Alberti himself and his dog in the other two idealized self-portraits.

3. Lucian and Alberti

Alberti was inspired to compose the *Musca* after receiving a copy of Guarino's Latin translation of Lucian's *Encomium muscae*. In his brief dedicatory letter, sending the *Musca* to Cristoforo Landino, the humanist tells how while ill with a slight fever he had received Guarino's copy of his version of Lucian's *Fly*.[35] Alberti in turn dedicates to Landino not a translation but his own rewriting of the Greek satirist's eulogy. He was obsessed with originality throughout his life, and perhaps regarded a straight translation as not innovative enough: in fact in his prolific writing career he only translated one work by another writer, Walter Map's invective against women (and in any case this was an extremely free version, more like a rewriting); the rest of his translations were of his own works, either into Latin or into the vernacular.[36] So the *Musca* can be seen also as part of the humanist's pursuit of originality and challenge to authority: Alberti is outdoing Guarino by replying with a rewriting not a translation, and he is challenging Lucian by writing a much wittier but also more serious piece on the fly.[37]

Most critics follow Grayson's approach in mentioning both the humorous and ethical dimensions that differentiate Alberti's work from Lucian's encomium, but without going into detail. What follows in the second half of this chapter is an attempt to illustrate these humorous and ethical aspects in more detail, and in addition to highlight one further difference that has never been noted, namely Alberti's systematic referencing of the Roman dimension in his portrait of the fly. But let us look at each work in detail. Lucian's *Encomium muscae* is a short, satirical eulogy, written to poke fun at the rhetoricians of his day and their pompous exaggerations. It is divided into 12 brief paragraphs, as follows:-

Structure of Lucian's *Eulogy of the Fly*[38]

(1). the fly's physical size
(2). its music in flight
(3). its body parts: head, belly like a breastplate, its proboscis
(4). its birth as a worm from a dead carcass; it is quiet at night
(5). its wisdom in escaping the spider: Homer's similes involving flies
(6). its prowess: it can bite the elephant, can survive without its head
(7). it proves Plato's idea of the soul's immortality since it can be reborn
(8). it is always around food
(9). its nomadic life, but it always lives openly, does no villainy
(10). the myth of Myia, who was turned into a fly for grudging Endymion rest
(11). Myia also the name of a poetess, a courtesan and Pythagoras's daughter
(12). mention of camp flies, but the orator interrupts the eulogy because he does not want to make an elephant out of a fly

As can be seen from this summary, Lucian's eulogy deals with the fly's body, birth and death, as well as its prowess against spiders and elephants, and he adorns this largely objective account with just a few literary allusions, such as the mention of Homer, Plato and the aetiological myth of Myia. According to this myth, Myia (the Greek word for fly) was the Moon's rival for the love of Endymion but she was turned into a fly by the Moon for constantly keeping her lover awake with her chatter. The Italian humanist clearly signals his challenge to the Greek author by starting with the final elements in sections 10–12 of his Greek source, namely camp flies and mythological allusions (to Myia): Alberti's *Musca* begins with the fly's military qualities and its descent from the mythical Centaurs and Bellona. Time and again the Latin text picks up points from the Greek original only to develop them in a totally different way. Lucian begins by stating that the fly is smaller than the bee, but Alberti turns this neutral point about size into a polemic against poets who have over-praised the undeserving bees, thus the humanist challenges the authority even of Virgil who championed bees as a model for human society in *Georgics* IV. At the end of the speech, the humanist makes a totally contrasting emphasis in discussing the eternal enmity between the fly and the spider. Whereas Lucian stresses the fly's 'great intelligence' and victories in escaping from the crafty spider — 'She watches for [the spider] lurking in ambush, and is wary of him, turning aside from his attack, so as not to be captured by being ensnared and falling into the toils of the creature' (*Lucian*, I, 87) — Alberti's emphasis, as we have seen, is on her inevitable defeats at the hands of her cruel and cunning enemy (*Musca*, p. 1023).[39] One reason for this stress on defeat is that in the *Musca*, as in the *Canis*, we are dealing with a self-portrait: the author's strong identification between himself and the insect means he portrays the fly too as a victim of secretive enemies, just as he tells us in the *Vita* that he was physically attacked by his envious opponents, and in the *Canis* that his dog died at the hands of conspiratorial adversaries. In addition it was structurally appropriate that the eulogy which had begun with the praise of the fly's birth and ancestry (*Musca*, p. 1017) should end with the creature's death (*Musca*, p. 1023). From beginning to end, Alberti develops Lucian's points in a radically different way.

4. Humour

Previous critics have mentioned but not analysed in detail the humour that is at work in the *Musca*, but it is worth examining the comic elements in the eulogy in more depth, since humour was a key ingredient in Alberti's literary ideals.[40] One can instantly see that there is a generally comic effect caused by writing a Latin eulogy with a battery of learned allusions all in order to praise a fly. The solemn tone is signalled in the very first words which contain the erudite allusion to a well-known philosopher (probably Socrates) ['Philosophum nescio quem celebrem', *Musca*, p. 1017] who constantly complained of men's foolishness in ignoring the things that were under their eyes in order to explore instead complex matters that were hidden away from sight by nature and cloaked in obscurity.[41] More particularly, humorous effects are created by exaggeration, as when the normal

behaviour of the fly is elevated to the level of something heroic: thus its buzzing around cattle is exaggerated into its valiant pursuit of an enormous bull through the woods ['firmissimum tota exagitatum silva taurum vidimus musca urgente', *Musca*, p. 1019]; and the way it hums around people is glorified by being attributed to its sense of fairness: 'for it embraces, kisses, cherishes with its wings and applauds equally the prince and the plebeian, rich and poor' ['eque enim principem atque plebeium, eque divitem, eque egenum amplexatur, exosculatur, confovet alis atque applaudet', *Musca*, p. 1019]. Similarly the insect's love of food is linked not to greed but to its religious sensibilities: 'Who can fail to notice how flies are imbued with religion? Was there ever a feast set out for the gods, or any sacrifice carried out where the fly was not present as much as it was allowed? Flies are the first to taste food, the last to leave the altars, are constantly present at religious sacrifices, and at night they stay awake in the company of the gods themselves.'[42]

Most humorous of all is Alberti's list of the secret things that the fly knows, a list which alludes to major mythological characters, but in a highly comic way:

> The fly actually knows which cakes Circe laid out in order to turn her guests into monsters; it has learnt where the much sought after Osiris lies hidden; it even knows what blemishes Helen of Troy has on her bottom, has fondled all of Ganymede's hidden parts, and knows by constantly landing on them how bitter is the taste of Andromache's ancient, sagging breasts. (*Musca*, p. 1020)
>
> [Ac novit quidem musca quas offas Circes, suos ut in monstra hospites converteret, exposuerit; novit quonam loco quesitus Osiris latitet; novit et quenam in natibus adsint vitia Helene, tum et Ganimedis occulta omnia attrectavit; Andromache quoque pendulas vietasque mammas quid austerum saperent iterum atque iterum applicans sensit.]

The mention of these five mythical characters at first sight appears erudite but ends up being comical because what the fly claims to know about them is either banal (Circe's cakes), insignificant (Osiris was 'found' every year by Isis and his own devotees) or an excuse for sexual innuendo (Helen's buttocks, Ganymede's private parts, Andromache's breasts). Also witty are the passages we have already mentioned which attribute to flies major advances in music and mathematics, as well as the playful linguistic jokes linking music, the Muses and flies. The final witticism of the work also displays the more humorous qualities of Alberti's eulogy compared with Lucian's. Whereas the Greek satirist ends his speech with a pun, saying that he will go no further because he does not want to make an elephant out of a fly (a Greek proverb), the humanist ends with a flight of humorous fancy by claiming that he cannot speak any more about the fly's qualities because a huge swarm of them has flown in to thank him on his eulogy, and their kisses prevent him from speaking (*Musca*, p. 1023). David Marsh has pointed out that a further source of humour here is the fact that everyone knows what it is that attracts flies in great numbers...[43] Whereas Lucian says little about laughter, Alberti's final sentence explicitly underlines the humour that runs throughout the *Musca*, and is one of the key elements that differentiates it from Lucian's original encomium: 'I wrote this while laughing and I hope you will laugh too' ['Scripsimus hec ridendo et vos ridete', *Musca*, p. 1023].

5. The Ethical Dimension

The enhanced moral dimension in Alberti's *Musca* is also regularly mentioned by critics, though not discussed in detail. Yet this ethical emphasis is in evidence in a number of areas. Whereas at the beginning of his encomium Lucian simply states that the fly's musical sound is more melodious than that of wasps, just as flutes sound sweeter than trumpets or cymbals (*Lucian*, I, 83–85), Alberti develops this point into his praise of the fly's military discipline, saying their sound is like an army bugle (*Musca*, p. 1018). Even more emphatically, he inflects the Greek original in another way by taking Lucian's simple statement about flies resting at night — 'At night she keeps quiet and does not fly or sing, but hides away and is still' (*Lucian*, I, 87) — and transforming it so that the insect becomes a model of reflective, philosophical behaviour, adding — as already noted — that even at night flies continue to reflect and meditate on serious questions (*Musca*, p. 1022). If Lucian mentioned Plato for his theory of the immortality of the soul, it was in a paradoxical way, suggesting that the fly's capacity for rebirth proved the famous theory (*Lucian*, I, 89), whereas Alberti's only mention of the Greek philosopher is as a serious exemplar that the insect emulates in its restless pursuit of knowledge (*Musca*, p. 1022). Similarly, although Lucian briefly mentions the fly's honesty and openness ('She has no desire for stealthy actions and no thought of disgraceful deeds which would discredit her if they were done by daylight', *Lucian*, I, 91), for Alberti honesty and openness are key features of his own idealized self-portrait and that of his dog, so this idea is expanded and receives much lengthier, moralizing treatment, as we have seen above.[44]

This much more insistent ethical note emerges also in his lexis. The *Musca* lays more stress than the Greek text on the fly's noble pursuit of the arts of peace and its avoidance of the vice of 'immanitas' [inhumanity]. Even though he begins by praising the insect's military discipline, Alberti states that flies hate the devastation of war such as the burning of fields and the destruction of houses, since these smack of inhumanity ['quod immanitatem saperent', *Musca*, p. 1018]. The word 'immanitas' is used twice more in the speech, once of the fly's cruel human enemy, Domitian, whose early display of criminal inhumanity ['flagitium et immanitatem', *Musca*, p. 1021] was to torture flies with a dagger, according to Suetonius (*Domitian*, III. 1); and it is also used to describe the insect's deadly enemy, the totally heartless spider ['immanissimam Aragnem', *Musca*, p. 1023].[45] By contrast, the fly pursues humanity and *pietas* ['humanitatis ... et pietatis memores', *Musca*, p. 1018], showing humaneness and mercy even in its military pursuits ['humanitatemne atque mansuetudinem', *Musca*, p. 1019], and displaying piety and good grace in supporting tired comrades ['pietate ac gratia', *Musca*, p. 1019]. It also earns praise not just for its other virtues but also for the lack of harm done by its ancestors ['cum ceteris virtutibus tum presertim innocentia maiorum suorum', *Musca*, p. 1019]. Mercy and similar ethical qualities resurface in other passages too: the fly is totally innocuous ['penitus innocuum', *Musca*, p. 1019]; it is particularly praised for its innocence, gentleness, mild manners, simple and peaceful nature, as well as its calm and equable way of living its life ['innocentiam, mansuetudinem, mitem animum, simplex pacatumque

ingenium, tranquillam et equabilem vite degende rationem', *Musca*, p. 1020]; and the idea of innocence is repeated at the end of the eulogy when the harmless nature of flies is contrasted with the cruelty of the spider ['Atque tanta erga innocuum muscarum genus crudelitate bellua ipsa sevire crassarique assuevit', *Musca*, p. 1023]. There is none of this ethical emphasis on the fly's peace-loving qualities in the Greek original.

6. *Romanitas*

One final, striking element of Alberti's challenge to the Greek writer is an aspect of the *Musca* not mentioned at all by critics, namely the persistent stress on Roman or Latin culture. Naturally Lucian's Greek text had made no reference to Roman writers or rulers. But Alberti's *Musca* begins by claiming that if bees ultimately derive from Io (since Virgil's fourth *Georgic* stated that bees could be born from a cow's carcass, and Io had been transformed into a cow), then flies are descendants of the race of Centaurs — a mythical claim that appears to have no precise source, but Alberti maintains that this fact is actually confirmed in ancient Rome's 'linen books' or 'linen rolls', the books that recorded Rome's earliest annals ['muscas ex Centaurorum genere prognatas, ut linteis annalium libris testari fama est', *Musca*, p. 1017]. These linen scrolls are mentioned by Livy several times as one of his key sources for the early history of Rome, so the first intertextual allusions in the *Musca* are to two major Roman writers of prose and verse, Livy and Virgil.[46] Furthermore, he asserts that the offspring of flies also derive from Bellona, the Roman goddess of war, and that the fly's music could arouse Mars to battle (*Musca*, p. 1018), thus these initial claims set the tone for the Roman stamp that the humanist will give to the rest of his eulogy. However, there is also an implicit challenge here to Virgil's authority, since the fourth *Georgic* had celebrated bees. By contrast Alberti opens his work by championing flies over bees, and later on condemns the latter for their indulgence in civil wars (Virgil had described such fratricidal wars in a lengthy passage, at the start of the fourth *Georgic*, IV. 67–94), and castigates poets for proposing bees as a model for society: 'Unlike bees, who do not deserve their role as the darlings of poets, flies do not engage in civil wars' ['Non ut apes, vatum inmerite delitie, civilia exercent inter se bella', *Musca*, p. 1019].

This emphasis on *Romanitas* continues throughout the eulogy. Whereas Lucian had limited himself to describing the head and body of the fly in neutral terms, saying that 'The abdomen is armoured and resembles a corselet in having flat zones and scales' (*Lucian*, I, 85), when Alberti comes to portray this part of its body he once more invokes Roman elements: 'The fly has a thorax of gold and shimmering bronze and it uses wings that descend from its shoulders just like a Roman toga' ['Aureo enim et discolori ere thoraca et ab humeris pendulis alis pro tua, o Romane, toga utitur musca', *Musca*, p. 1018]. There are then two further allusions in quick succession to Livy's early books, first the mention of the weakness of the Gauls whenever the Romans charged them for a second time (*Ab urbe condita*, X. 28), then a reference to the vulture as a most auspicious bird ['auspicatissimum alitem', *Musca*, p. 1019], recalling the good omen provided by the twelve vultures that appeared when Romulus was founding his city.[47] Next, the Roman virtue par excellence,

pietas, is brought into play as well as its greatest exponent, Aeneas, in the allusion to flies carrying their tired comrades on their backs, as we have seen (*Musca*, p. 1019). The Roman references continue to pepper the speech until the end, with mentions of the battles of Trasimene and Cannae, and of famous Romans such as Julius Caesar, Pompey, Domitian, the Roman poet Afranius, the Elder Pliny, before ending with a final allusion to Julius Caesar and Scipio.[48] Interestingly, the reference to Pliny contains a possibly deliberate mistake that confirms Alberti's desire to challenge his Greek predecessor with Roman examples. As models for the fly's tireless research he cites Plato and Aristotle (*Musca*, p. 1022), but then adds that the Elder Pliny, who covered all aspects of nature in his *Natural History*, was driven by his thirst for research to jump into Etna's boiling, erupting crater ['investigandi curiositatem ab estu erumpentis Etne absorptum', *Musca*, p. 1022]. Alberti has clearly mixed up Pliny, who died in the eruption of Vesuvius, with the Greek philosopher Empedocles who jumped into Mount Etna, but whether deliberate or not, the effect is to give more prominence to a Roman rather than Greek natural philosopher.[49]

Despite this strong emphasis on *Romanitas* in the text, the sources used by Alberti are predictably a mixture of both Greek and Latin authors, as in all his works from this period. The editions by Grayson and Contarino and the notes by Bonaria and Bracciali Magnini show that he draws on at least four works by Plutarch, two by Lucian and Diogenes Laertius, as well as one each by Homer and Aristotle. As for Latin authors, he clearly alludes to Pliny (four times), Gellius, Solinus and Virgil (thrice each), Livy and Valerius Maximus (twice each), as well as making single allusions to Cicero, Caesar, Martial and Suetonius. In addition, Alberti also quotes Josephus, but probably in the Latin translation.[50] Thus, just as he does in other works of this period, so here Alberti is innovative in drawing on a staggeringly broad range of sources for the time: he cites several Greek authors (who were just being discovered and translated in the early Quattrocento), and even amongst the Latins he brings in 'new' texts such as Martial.[51]

The *Musca* was inspired by Lucian's brief encomium of the fly, which had been recently translated into Latin by Guarino of Verona and then sent to Alberti. But, as we have seen, Alberti embroiders the Greek satirist's theme and rewrites his eulogy as a wittier but also more ethical classical oration, with a clear five-part structure and a much denser series of allusions to antiquity, though always permeated from beginning to end by a sense of fun and inventiveness. It is a fifteenth-century example of an ancient rhetorical exercise, the praise of something negative (praise of injustice, of Nero etc.), and falls into the *serio-ludere* tradition established by Lucian and revived in the Renaissance. However, whereas Guarino's was a straight translation from Lucian (like those of Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Aurispa and others),[52] Alberti goes beyond his predecessors to challenge the authority of the Greek writer by offering a funnier yet more moral rewriting of the encomium, one which offers yet another self-portrait of the author. He consistently resorts to invoking Roman elements, since one way of challenging (Greek) authority is to appeal to another authoritative source (Rome). Challenge in an imitative culture such as that which permeated Italian Renaissance humanism is circumscribed, but

it is distinctly present in Alberti's unique opuscule. Hilary Gatti's chapter on Bruno and Petrarch showed how the Nolan philosopher recuperated the Petrarchan sonnet as a still valid form of expression in the early modern world. Similarly Alberti, over a century earlier, reworked Lucian's brief encomium into a still valid form of expression for something more inventive than the Greek original. The *Musca* is a more humorous, ethical and personal portrait of this most humble of creatures, a brief eulogy that at the same time ambitiously challenges and aims to outdo both ancient Greek and Latin writers as well as Alberti's humanist contemporaries.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. See Giordano Bruno, *On the Heroic Frenzies. A Translation of 'De gli eroici furori'*, by Ingrid D. Rowland, text ed. by Eugenio Canone (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 12–13; Hilary Gatti, 'Petrarch, Sidney, Bruno', in *Petrarch in Britain. Interpreters, Imitators and Translators over 700 Years*, ed. by Martin McLaughlin and Letizia Panizza (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 149–60 (pp. 149–50).
2. That Bruno is alluding to Lucian for the praise of the fly is mentioned by most commentators: see, for instance, the note on the passage in Giordano Bruno, *De gli eroici furori*, ed. by Eugenio Canone (Milan: Mondadori, 2011), p. 347.
3. For the date of composition, see *Opuscoli inediti di Leon Battista Alberti. 'Musca', 'Vita S. Potiti'*, ed. by Cecil Grayson (Florence: Olschki, 1954; repr., with a Preface by Cesare Vasoli, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2005), pp. 18, 21.
4. Eugenio Garin, 'Studi su Leon Battista Alberti: 1. Per un ritratto', in his *Rinascite e rivoluzioni. Movimenti culturali dal XIV al XVIII secolo* (Bari: Laterza, 1975), pp. 133–60 (pp. 140–41); Olivia Catanorchi, 'Luciano, Alberti e Bruno. Note su alcune linee di ricerca', in *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa*, s. 4, 8 (2003), 31–52, and 'Lo *Spaccio* di Giordano Bruno e il *Momus* di Leon Battista Alberti', in *Sogni, favole, storie. Seminario su Giordano Bruno*, Introduzione di Michele Ciliberto, ed. by Olivia Catanorchi and Diego Pirillo (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), pp. 71–102.
5. Some of the main 2004 conference proceedings include: *Leon Battista Alberti umanista e scrittore. Filologia, esegesi, tradizione. Atti dei Convegni internazionali del Comitato Nazionale VI centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti (Arezzo, 24–25–26 giugno 2004)*, ed. by Roberto Cardini and Mariangela Regoliosi, 2 vols (Florence: Polistampa, 2007); *Leon Battista Alberti e la tradizione. Per lo 'smontaggio' dei mosaici albertiani. Atti dei Convegni internazionali del Comitato Nazionale VI centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti (Arezzo, 23–24–25 settembre 2004)*, ed. by Roberto Cardini and Mariangela Regoliosi, 2 vols (Florence: Polistampa, 2007); *Alberti e la cultura del Quattrocento. Atti dei Convegni internazionali del Comitato Nazionale VI centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti (Firenze, 16–17–18 dicembre 2004)*, ed. by Roberto Cardini and Mariangela Regoliosi, 2 vols (Florence: Polistampa, 2007); *Leon Battista Alberti teorico delle arti e gli impegni civili del 'De Re Aedificatoria'*, ed. by A. Calzona et al., 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 2007); *La vita e il mondo di Leon Battista Alberti. Atti dei Convegni internazionali del Comitato Nazionale VI centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti (Genova, 19–21 febbraio 2004)*, 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 2008).
6. Grayson's edition of the text of *Musca* is on pp. 45–62 of *Opuscoli inediti di Leon Battista Alberti*. For Contarino's edition, see Leon Battista Alberti, *Apologhi ed elogi*, ed. by Rosario Contarino, Presentazione di Luigi Malerba (Genoa: Costa & Nolan, 1984), which contains the *Canis* (pp. 141–69), and *Musca* (pp. 171–95). For Coppini's text, see *Musca*, ed. by Donatella Coppini, translation and notes by Maria Letizia Bracciali Magnini, in Leon Battista Alberti, *Opere latine*, ed. by Roberto Cardini (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2010), pp. 1017–23 (the Latin text), pp. 1025–35 (Italian translation and notes). Future references will be to this 2010 edition, in the form *Musca*, with page number. There is also a German edition containing Lucian's original Greek text with a commentary in German, Guarino's Latin translation and Alberti's *Musca* (with German translations): Margarethe Billerbeck and Christian Zubler, *Das Lob der Fliege von Lukian bis L. B. Alberti* (Berne: Lang, 2000).

7. Grayson's philological introduction is in *Opuscoli inediti di Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 5–41; but see also Donatella Coppini, 'Leon Battista Alberti si corregge: Il caso della *Mosca* Riccardiana', in *Leon Battista Alberti: La biblioteca di un umanista*, ed. by Roberto Cardini et al. (Florence: Mandragora, 2005), pp. 51–56, as well as Coppini and Bracciali Magnini's 'Nota al testo' (*Musca*, pp. 1036–38).
8. *Opuscoli inediti di Leon Battista Alberti*, p. 22.
9. Ibid., p. 23.
10. See Grayson's notes in *Opuscoli inediti di Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 49, 51, 52, 54, 56. For similar references to these vernacular texts, see Mario Bonaria, 'La *Musca* di L. B. Alberti: Osservazioni e traduzione', in *Miscellanea di studi albertiani* (Genoa: Tilgher, 1975), pp. 47–69 (p. 58, n. 47); and Contarino's edition of *Musca*, p. 174, n. 2; p. 178, n. 6; p. 180, n. 12; p. 182, n. 16; p. 184, n. 19; p. 186, n. 23.
11. Bonaria, 'La *Musca* di L. B. Alberti'; Christopher Robinson, *Lucian and his Influence in Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1979), pp. 81–95 (p. 91); Emilio Mattioli, 'Le opere lucianesche di L. B. Alberti' in his *Luciano e l'umanesimo* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1980), pp. 74–100 (esp. pp. 88–91 on the *Musca*); Contarino, 'Introduzione: Il bestiario umanistico di L. B. Alberti', in Alberti, *Apologhi ed elogi*, pp. 15–40 (pp. 39–40), slightly revised in Rosario Contarino, *Leon Battista Alberti moralista*, Presentazione di Francesco Tateo (Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia, 1991), pp. 188–93; David Marsh, *Lucian among the Latins. Humor and Humanism in the Early Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 159–61. For links between the *Musca* and Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* and some of the other works mentioned by Bruno, see Silvia Longhi's chapter, 'L'elogio paradossale', in her *Lusus. Il capitolo burlesco nel Cinquecento* (Padua: Antenore, 1983), pp. 138–81.
12. For a more detailed analysis of its structure see Martin McLaughlin, 'Alberti's *Canis*: Structure and Sources in the Portrait of the Artist as a Renaissance Dog', *Albertiana*, 14 (2011), 55–83 (pp. 58–59).
13. For the links with classical and humanistic orations, see McLaughlin, 'Alberti's *Canis*', pp. 59–62.
14. At the start of his portrait Livy praises Cato's 'versatility which allowed him to turn his hand to every activity in such a way that, whatever he was doing, it seemed that he had been born for that one activity alone' ['huic uersatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret', *Ab urbe condita*, XXXIX. 40], a phrase and concept that Alberti applied to both himself and his dog, as we shall see. But the Roman historian then adds these words praising Cato's contribution to Rome both in war and in peace: 'in war he was extremely strong in the use of his hands and renowned for his bravery in many famous battles; but this same man, after obtaining the highest honours as supreme commander, proved also in peacetime to be highly skilled in questions of law' ['in bello manu fortissimus multisque insignibus clarus pugnis, idem postquam ad magnos honores peruenit, summus imperator, idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus', *Ab urbe condita*, XXXIX. 40]. Plutarch also divides Cato's wartime achievements (*Cato*, XI-XIV) from his peacetime qualities (*Cato*, XV-XXV) in his life of the statesman, a text we know Alberti read and therefore another possible source.
15. McLaughlin, 'Alberti's *Canis*', pp. 77–83.
16. 'quid enim prudentem magis decet quam ipsum sese nosse ad quam sit potissimum rem peragendam natum? [...] Musca quidem, cum se ad rerum investigationem et cognitionem ortam animadverteret, cum a natura ita se adornatam oculis pregrandibus senserit, ut que trans celum, que imo sub profundo queve omnem ultra regionis limbum atque ultimum orizontem latitent facile discernat, quonam in opere commodius, duce natura, comite solertia, exercebitur quam in eo quidem quo flagranti suo studio assequatur, ut nulle se rerum occultarum latebre indagantem lateant?' (*Musca*, p. 1020)
17. See the Livy passage cited above in note 14, and also the very similar passages about the dog's and Alberti's own 'ingenium versatile': in the *Canis* he says of his dog, 'Ingenio preterea fuit docili et versatili et ad quamvis rem apto et ita accincto ut brevi adiuncto studio, cuivis sese rei agende aut arti dedisset, omnem in ea pristinam suam industriam et operam exposuisse diceres. [...] divina cum ingenii flexibilis et versatilis vi'. For the *Canis*, I have used the line-numbered edition in Cecil Grayson, 'Il *Canis* di Leon Battista Alberti', in *Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia (Miscellanea di Studi in onore di Vittore Branca)*, 3 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1983), III.1, 193, 204 (here, lines 228–31 and 345–46). In one of the opening sentences of the *Vita* we

find this very similar self-description: 'Ingenio fuit versatili, quoad nullam ferme censeas artium bonarum fuisse non suam.' For the autobiography I have used the following edition of the *Vita*: Leon Battista Alberti, *Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, ed. by Loredana Chines and Andrea Severi (Milan: Rizzoli, 2012), pp. 64–103 (here the first paragraph of the *Vita*, p. 64). For Cato as the model in both accounts, see McLaughlin, 'Alberti's *Canis*', pp. 63–64.

18. The phrase 'canendi modos', with the pun on the word 'canis', just like the pun on 'musca' and 'musica', is also found in *Canis* (line 282).
19. As Bracciali Magnini notes (*Musca*, p. 1032, n. 24), Alberti's source would have been either Cicero, *De natura deorum*, III. 88 ('quamquam Pythagoras, cum in geometria quiddam novi invenisset, Musis bovem immolavisse dicitur'); or Vitruvius, *De architectura*, IX. Pref. 7 ('Id Pythagoras cum invenisset, non dubitans a Musis se in ea inventione monitum, maximas gratias agens hostias dicitur his immolavisse').
20. Similarly Alberti's dog was keen on music ('noctu etiam interdum varios canendi modos auribus a concentu sperarum orbis haustos, ne musicam sprevisse et omnino austerus videretur, ad lunam exprimebat', *Canis*, lines 281–83), and also sought out suitable philosophical models of life, enquiring of every dog he met which philosophical school it belonged to: 'quid quisque obvius canis saperet doctrinarum Academiamne, Stoicos an Peripateticos, an Epicureos oleret, sagaci industria scrutabatur' (*Canis*, lines 296–98). Likewise Alberti describes himself in the *Vita* as turning to natural philosophy and mathematics at the age of twenty-four ['annos natus quatuor et viginti ad philosophiam se atque mathematicas artes contulit', *Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 68]; and his interest in music is mentioned several times in the opening pages: 'Nam cum arma et equos et musica instrumenta arte et modo tractare [...] Musicam nullis praeceptoribus tenuit et fuere ipsius opera a doctis musicis approbata; cantu per omnem aetatem usus est [...]. Organis delectabatur et inter primarios musicos in ea re peritus habebatur. Musicos effecit nonnullos eruditiores suis monitis' (*Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, pp. 64–66).
21. Socrates (*Musca*, p. 1021), Plato and Aristotle (*Musca*, p. 1022), Pliny and Archimedes (*Musca*, pp. 1022–23).
22. According to Plutarch (*Life of Cato the Elder*, XXV. 4) and to Cicero (*De senectute*, 45), Cato first claimed that convivial meals were the foundations of friendships.
23. There are many mentions of the importance of friends and friendship in the *Vita*: 'Pecunias bonaque sua amicis custodienda et usu fruenda dabat' (*Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 78); many of his sayings concerned the subject of *amicitia*, and he even attributed authorship of his own works to his friends in order to enhance their reputation: 'integra opera amicorum famae elargitus extitit' (*Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 94). Similarly we find several instances of his dog's cult of friendship in the *Canis*: some of these were deliberately added by Alberti to the information found in his classical sources (see McLaughlin, 'Alberti's *Canis*, pp. 74–76), and in one twelve-line passage there are no fewer than five mentions of the idea of friendship: 'Amicorum secreta nusquam prodidit. [...] ad amicitias optimorum pronus et propensus; amicitiasque ipsas obsequiis quam pollicitationibus, re quam ostentatione inibat atque adaugebat. Amicitiaque esse per virtutem dignius quam per emolumenta ambitionemve amari cupiebat [...] Amicis meis omnibus obsequens, festivus, officiosus, obtemperans ut omnes facile illum diligerent' (*Canis*, lines 251–62). On ideas of friendship in Alberti's *De familia*, see Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Modern Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 172–202. For a detailed account of the exempla and sources in the first section of the *Canis* see now Maria Letizia Bracciali Magnini, 'L. B. Alberti, *Canis* 10–27. Fonti e problemi', in *Nel cantiere degli umanisti. Per Mariangela Regoliosi*, ed. by Lucia Bertolini, Donatella Coppini, Clementina Marsico, 3 vols (Florence: Polistampa, 2014), II, 777–826 (p. 782).
24. 'lenitate et placabilitate' (*Canis*, lines 171–73); 'protervorum impetum patientia frangebat, et se ab calamitate, quoad posset, solo virtutis cultu vendicabat' (*Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 76).
25. 'calumniatores pessimum in vita hominum malum versari aiebat; [...] omnibus calumniis absentem lacerabant' (Alberti, *Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 74). For the ekphrasis of Apelles's painting, see Leon Battista Alberti, *De pictura*, ed. by Cecil Grayson (Bari: Laterza, 1975), p. 92.
26. 'Ac novi quidem non sine mearum rerum iactura quid ipsa possit invidia, malorum inter mortales culmen; idcirco multa, cum de meo ingenio diffisus, tum invidiam veritus, consulto mihi fore pretereunda statuo' (*Musca*, p. 1022).

27. 'Vixit cum invidis et malivolentissimis tanta modestia et aequanimitate, ut obtrectatorum aemulorumque nemo, tametsi erga se iratior, apud bonos et graves de se quidpiam nisi plenum laudis et admirationis auderet proloqui. Coram, etiam ab ipsis invidis honorifice accipiebatur; ubi vero aures alicuius levissimi ac sui simillimi paterent, hi maxime, qui prae ceteris diligere simulassent, omnibus calumniis absentem lacerabant' (*Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 74). Envy was also the subject of one of Alberti's famous sayings listed in the *Vita*: 'He said that envy was a blind plague, the most insidious of all: for it creeps into one's mind through the ears, eyes, nose, mouth, and finally even through the fingernails, and it burns there with invisible flames, so that even those who think themselves healthy are actually wasting away with this disease.' ['Dicebat invidiam caecam esse pestem et omnium insidiosissimam: eam enim per aures, per oculos, per nares, per os denique, ipsas etiam per unguiculas ad animum ingredi et caecis flammis inurere, ut etiam qui se sanos putent isthac ipsa peste contabescant', *Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 86]; and the topic recurs frequently in the *Intercenales* and the vernacular dialogues.
28. 'ab invidis atque occultis eum inimicis veneno absumptum' (*Canis*, lines 356–57).
29. 'Quid musca, que omnium conscia nullius tamen unquam dicta aut facta revelavit; quibus laudibus prosequemur? Remne unquam tam secrete fecimus, ut musca interpres spectatrixque non fuerit? An tu musce lingua tibi esse ullum importatum damnum uspiam meministi? ut profecto sic statuas: a nulla tantum re abhorrere muscas quam a delatoris perfidia et scelere' (*Musca*, p. 1020). The reference to Pompey comes from Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, III. 3. 2, as suggested by Bonaria and Bracciali Magnini (*Musca*, p. 1030, n. 16).
30. 'amicorum secreta nunquam prodidit' (*Canis*, line 251); 'Aliena secreta nusquam prodidit, sed aeternum obmutuit' (*Autobiografia e altre opere latine*, p. 78).
31. I am grateful to Dario Tessicini for this last suggestion, which finds confirmation in the description of Alberti's dog's silence as being like the silence imposed on his followers by Pythagoras: 'tacitus atque attentissimus, illud Pythagore observans qui taciturnitatem discipulis imperabat' (*Canis*, lines 303–04).
32. On Alberti's recycling of sayings from Diogenes Laertius's biographies, see Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti. Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 2000), pp. 23–25.
33. See Plutarch, *Cato the Elder*, VIII–IX.
34. 'segnes ac petulantes castigabat dictis' (*Canis*, line 300).
35. See Alberti's dedicatory letter to Cristoforo Landino, in *Musca*, p. 1036.
36. For his translation from Walter Map, see Leon Battista Alberti, *Opere volgari*, ed. by Cecil Grayson, 3 vols (Bari: Laterza, 1960–73), II, 369–80; on the loose nature of the version see Cecil Grayson, 'Leon Battista Alberti traduttore di Walter Map', *Lettere Italiane*, 7 (1955), 3–13, later in his *Studi su Leon Battista Alberti*, ed. by Paula Claut (Florence: Olschki, 1998), pp. 91–102. For his self-translations, see Martin McLaughlin, 'Alberti traduttore di se stesso: *Uxoria* e *Naufragus*', in Marcial Rubío Arquez and Nicola D'Antuono (eds), *Autotraduzione. Teoria ed esempi fra Italia e Spagna (e oltre)* (Milan: LED Edizioni, 2012), pp. 77–106.
37. On Alberti's challenges to classical culture, see now Roberto Cardini, 'Enigmi albertiani', in *Nel cantiere degli umanisti*, I, 221–75 (esp. pp. 235–42).
38. For the Greek text of Lucian's *Eulogy of the Fly*, I have used *Lucian*, with an English translation by A. M. Harmon, 8 vols (London: Heinemann; New York: Macmillan, 1913), I, 81–95 (henceforth *Lucian*, with volume and page number).
39. Bracciali Magnini (*Musca*, p. 1034, n. 29) also notes this contrasting emphasis in Lucian and Alberti but without suggesting reasons for it.
40. On the importance of humour for Alberti, see Roberto Cardini, 'Alberti, o della nascita dell' umorismo moderno', *Schede umanistiche*, I (1993), 31–95; and 'Paralipomeni all'Alberti umorista', *Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme*, 2 (2001), 177–88.
41. 'Philosophum nescio quem celebrem ferunt solitum admirari ineptias hominum, quod res plerasque in medium expositas et cognitu perfaciles negligant, res vero a conspectu abditas natura et in obscurum retrusas omni studio et omni opere perscrutentur' (*Musca*, p. 1017). This seems to be an allusion to what Xenophon says of Socrates at the start of the *Memorabilia* (I. I, 11): 'He did not even discuss that topic so favoured by other talkers, "the Nature of the Universe"; and avoided speculation on the so-called "Cosmos" of the Professors, how it works, and on the

laws that govern the phenomena of the heavens: indeed he would argue that to trouble one's mind with such problems is sheer folly' — see Xenophon, *Memorabilia and Oeconomicus*, with an English translation by E. C. Marchant (London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam's, 1923), p. 9. For the identification with Socrates, see Luca Boschetto, 'Ricerche sul *Theogenius* e sul *Momus* di Leon Battista Alberti', *Rinascimento*, 33 (1993), 3–52 (p. 33, n. 68).

42. 'Ceterum quanta sint religione imbute musce, quis est quem lateat? An uspiam fuere dapes diis exposite, an factum unquam sacrificium, cui non quoad licuerit musca interfuerit? Prime libant, postreme ab aris decedunt, assidue ad sacrum coherent, noctu ipsis cum diis lucubrantur' (*Musca*, p. 1020).
43. Marsh, *Lucian among the Latins*, pp. 160–61.
44. See above n. 29.
45. The same lexical emphasis on 'immanitas' occurs in the *Canis* where the dog's enemy is described as 'immanissimi et prepotentis hostis' (line 143), and the dog itself is said to reject the arts of fury and cruelty ('furoris et immanitatis artibus', lines 202–03).
46. Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, IV. 7; IV. 13; IV. 20; IV. 23.
47. Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, I. 7) mentions the vultures, though Contarino (Alberti, *Apologhi ed elogi*, p. 180, n. 10) rightly argues that Alberti's wording shows that it is Plutarch's account (*Quaestiones Romanae*, 93) that he has in mind: Plutarch starts with the appearance of the vultures at Romulus's founding of Rome and goes on to say that this bird was believed to be the most righteous of all creatures since it eats no living thing, nor does it harm plants or trees (the wording is close to Alberti's: 'Sunt qui vulturem egregie commendent auspicatissimumque animal esse alitem asseverent, quod unum hoc ipsum animal penitus innocuum nullos lacessere natureque omnibus parcere operibus assueverit', *Musca*, p. 1019).
48. The battles of Trasimene and Cannae (*Musca*, p. 1020), Pompey (p. 1020), Domitian (p. 1021), the Roman poet Afranius and Pliny (pp. 1022–23), Scipio and Caesar (p. 1023).
49. The 'mistake' is probably deliberate since elsewhere, on at least one other occasion, Alberti shows he is aware that it was Empedocles who jumped into Mount Etna: see his translation of Walter Map's *Dissuasio Valerii* ('Empedocle, quale non ben consigliato si commise in Enna', Alberti, *Opere volgari*, II, 370); in addition, in the fourth book of *De familia*, he discusses the Greek philosopher's theories (Alberti, *Opere volgari*, I, 295).
50. As Bracciali Magnini notes (*Musca*, p. 1034, n. 30), the allusion to the member of the Alani tribe who briefly captured the Armenian king Tiridates with a lasso ('Alanus is, qui in acie laqueo Tiriadem Armenie regem comprehendit', *Musca*, p. 1023) clearly comes from Josephus, *The Jewish War*, VII. 249–50: 'Tiridates, the king of that country, who met them [the Alani] and gave them battle, narrowly escaped being taken alive in the engagement; for a noose was thrown around him by a distant enemy who would have dragged him off, had he not instantly cut the rope with his sword and succeeded in escaping.' See Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Books IV-VII, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 577. Alberti quotes Josephus three times in two contemporary vernacular works: *Theogenius* (Alberti, *Opere volgari*, II, 72) and *Profugiorum ab erumna libri* (*Opere volgari*, II, 148, 176). The passage in the *Theogenius* was also from Josephus's account of the sack of Jerusalem (*The Jewish War*, V. 421, 549–52), as is the allusion in one of the *Intercenales*, the *Naufragus* (*Opere volgari*, II, 358–59): on this last, see McLaughlin, 'Alberti traduttore di se stesso: *Uxoria* e *Naufragus*', pp. 98–99.
51. For Alberti's use of texts such as Josephus and Martial in other works, see Martin McLaughlin, 'Pessimismo stoico e cultura classica nel *Theogenius* dell'Alberti', in *Leon Battista Alberti. Actes du Congrès International 'Gli Este e l'Alberti: Tempo e misura (Ferrara, 29. XI — 3. XII. 2004)*, ed. by Francesco Furlan & Gianni Venturi, 2 vols, special issue of *Schifanoia* 30–31 (Pisa: Serra, 2010), I, 131–43 (pp. 136, 140–41, 142, 143). On his keenness to refer to recently discovered works, see Mariangela Regoliosi, 'Per un catalogo degli *auctores* latini dell'Alberti', in *Leon Battista Alberti. La biblioteca di un umanista*, pp. 105–13, who notes 'Si può dire che non ci sia recente scoperta che non sia stata da lui "annusata" e riutilizzata. [...] anche la lettura dei latini risulta aggiornatissima' (p. 107).
52. For other Quattrocento translations from Lucian, see Emilio Mattioli, 'I traduttori umanistici di Luciano', *Studi in onore di Raffaele Spongano* (Bologna: Boni, 1980), pp. 205–15; and Marsh, *Lucian and the Latins*, pp. 15–41.

CHAPTER 2

❖

The Orange and the Bay: Renaissance Symbols of Poetic Excellence

Carlo Caruso

Joseph Trapp's seminal article 'The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays. An Enquiry into Poetic Garlands', published in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* of 1958, represents the first port of call for anyone wishing to learn about the connection between vegetal symbolism and the recognition of poetic excellence, from antiquity to Alexander Pope.[1] The title of this contribution is deliberately modelled on Trapp's and aims to add a footnote to that ground-breaking work by discussing an uninvestigated aspect of its topic.

Trapp examined the close relationship existing between the bay and the ivy, which a well-known Virgilian passage (*Eclogues*, VIII. 12–13) presents as intertwined in a garland: 'hanc sine tempora circum / inter victricis hederam tibi serpere laurus' [allow this ivy to be wreathed around your temples along with the victorious laurels]. He contextually illustrated their different as well as complementary symbolic value, highlighting by contrast the characteristics of other varieties of triumphal foliage such as oak, vine, myrtle, and cabbage — this last being reserved in jest for those poets who required abundant drinking for their inspiration.[2] The bay in particular was meant for those who 'excelled in both *ingenium* and *ars*';[3] as such, it came to be regarded as the ultimate prize. According to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, no less a figure than Apollo had taken the plant under his patronage. After pursuing Daphne (Greek for 'laurel') in vain until she was turned by the river god Permessus into a bay tree, Apollo decreed that its foliage be used to mark the triumphs of poets and conquerors alike (*Met.* I. 558–65).

There is no mention of oranges in Trapp's article, yet orange leaves became a recognized symbol of poetic excellence during the first three decades of the sixteenth century. While their significance in this respect may have been short-lived, testimonies from a considerable number of Renaissance poets and readers show that garlands of orange leaves were considered a suitable acknowledgment for a special type of achievement: that of modern poets engaged in competition with their ancient forerunners.

I

Orange trees and fruits were unknown to the Graeco-Roman world and could therefore not occur in ancient poetic symbolism. This must have been the main

reason why Trapp excluded them from his survey. The ancient literary sources are silent about the best-known and most cherished varieties of citrus trees, namely oranges (the 'sour' variety, bot. *Citrus aurantium*) and lemons (*Citrus limonum*). In the olden days, the only known citrus variety appears to have been the citron, whose current botanical name (*Citrus medica*) still retains the ancient, indeed Virgilian, designation as the tree from Media (from *Georgics*, II. 126–27).[4] Yet even citrons must have been something of a rare appearance for the Romans. The Elder Pliny claims they were imported from the East as decorative pot plants which would not take, let alone bear fruit, in Western soil (*Natural History*, XII. 7. 14–16). One does not hear about citron groves being cultivated in the West until the fourth century CE, when Palladius referred to the existence of such cultures in Sardinia (*Opus agriculturae*, IV. 10. 16);[5] the archaeological evidence appears to be doubtful at best.[6] Oranges and lemons seem to have been first noticed after the arrival of the Arabs, who introduced them to the West.[7] In this respect it is perhaps significant that citrus trees and fruits other than citrons appear in the narratives of medieval travellers returning from the East. In one such work, Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Hierosolymitana* (early thirteenth century), the author described Palestinian lemon groves as a novelty for the Western observer. He was however quick to appreciate the fruit's properties, as he liked to have lemon juice drizzled over his meat and fish for his summer meals.[8]

In Italian vernacular literature, the earliest appearances of citrus fruits date back to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Folgore da San Gimignano's 'sonnets of the months', as well as their parodies by Cenne da la Chitarra, celebrate citrus fruits in connection with two different months, June in Folgore's sonnet ('Oranges and citrons, dates and limes') and March in Cenne's parody ('Oranges and big citrons').[9] It is unclear whether the connection with March and June should be understood as alluding to two different ripening times; in any case, this would not necessarily constitute contradiction. Citrus trees were, and are, renowned for simultaneously sporting vivid green foliage, blossoms and ripe fruits throughout the year. It was a feature that Theophrastus, Pliny, Solinus, Servius, Palladius, Macrobius and Isidore of Seville had noticed and recorded when illustrating citron trees, and in the medieval and early modern age similar observations were extended to oranges and lemons as well.[10] In a passage from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, a garden is described as 'chiuso dintorno di verdissimi e vivi aranci e cedri [che avevano] i frutti vecchi e i nuovi e i fiori ancora' [surrounded by most green and luxuriant orange and citron trees bearing not only flowers but fruits both old and new] — a patent reformulation and adaptation of the feature highlighted in the ancient sources above.[11] Almost a hundred and fifty years later, the same topical trait occurs in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), where a cloister is said to be adorned with 'admirable citron ('citri'), orange ('naranci') and lemon trees ('limoni')', with oranges in particular showing their 'candid flower' and their 'fruits both ripe and unripened' ('maturi fructi et imperfecti').[12] To the learned individual of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, citrus trees must have looked like the observable, real-life equivalent of the fantastic plants that populated Alcinous's orchard. According to the Homeric description of that garden of gardens of the ancient world, 'the west

wind, as it blows', used to 'quicken to life some fruits, and ripen others', while vineyards would simultaneously carry 'unripe grapes that are shedding the blossom, and others that are turning purple' (Homer, *Odyssey*, vii. 113–32).

II

The orange was admitted to Parnassus after the great neo-Latin poet, humanist and state secretary to the Aragonese Kings of Naples Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) produced one of his most influential works on the cusp of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, *De hortis Hesperidum sive de cultu citriorum libri duo* [The Garden of the Hesperides, or The Cultivation of Orange Trees [in fact, of citrons and lemons as well], in Two Books]. In it, Pontano associated oranges in particular, 'always graced with new fruits, blossoms and leaves',[13] with the Ovidian myth of Adonis — the handsome young man loved by Venus, killed by a boar while hunting, then mercifully transformed into a delicate anemone flower by the goddess in mourning (*Met.* x. 735–39). With characteristically competitive boldness, which contemporaries considered typical of his approach to the classical poets,[14] Pontano cast away the Ovidian narrative and replaced it with a new *aition*, according to which the dead Adonis is turned by Venus into an orange tree. In the light of what is known about Pontano's reflections on poetry, the circumstances that led to the composition of the *Horti Hesperidum*, and the content of the poem itself, it appears that he regarded the inexhaustible fruitfulness of orange trees as a most eloquent symbol of life's perpetual renewal.[15] The match with the traditional interpretation of the Adonis myth, portrayed amongst others by Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* (i. 21) as an allegory of periodical death and revival in the vegetation cycle, seemed perfect. This new narrative Pontano placed within the frame of a didactic poem on husbandry, written in emulation of Virgil's *Georgics* but on a novel subject — the celebrated Campanian citrus trees — unknown to, and therefore unsung by, the ancients. With a further daring feat of literary cross-fertilization, Pontano declared his citrus fruits the modern equivalent of the golden apples of the Hesperides.

I tried to elucidate the way in which this ingenious re-invention of a classical myth was arrived at in my book on Adonis in the Italian Renaissance, where however I could only refer in passing to its aftermath.[16] As this seems to have been disregarded in modern studies, I am taking the opportunity to discuss it at greater length, particularly as the topic relates to the questions of cultural authority and challenge explored elsewhere in this volume.

As has already been observed, Pontano's *Horti Hesperidum* aimed to emulate as well as complement Virgil's *Georgics*. His most likely point of departure appears to have been that very passage of the *Georgics* where the citron or Median tree — the only variety of citrus recorded in the ancient sources — is mentioned (ii. 126–35). There, Virgil declared the citron worthy of comparison with the bay tree, for which it could easily be mistaken were it not for its scent. Virgil's claim was thus tantamount to suggesting that citrus trees could be compared with, and therefore be a match for, bay trees.[17]

ipsa ingens arbos faciemque simillima lauro,
et, si non alium late iactaret odorem,
laurus erat: folia haud ullis labentia uentis,
flos ad prima tenax. (*Georgics*, II. 131–34)

[The large tree looks very much like a bay; and a bay it were, if a different scent did not emanate from it. No wind can shake its foliage, and its blossom clings just as tenaciously.]

The neo-Virgilian nature of Pontano's verse was immediately picked up and deemed a highly successful experiment, to such an extent that for some time imitations and appreciations of the *Georgics* came to be filtered through Pontano's own take on the genre. When he started writing his *Horti Hesperidum* in the final years of the fifteenth century, Pontano's authority was at its summit. Aldus Manutius's 1505 posthumous publication of Pontano's poems, which included the *Horti Hesperidum*, *Urania* and the *Meteororum liber*, was the first collection of neo-Latin didactic poetry to appear in print.[18] The notion of the orange tree as comparable with the bay thus acquired extraordinary momentum.[19] One even wonders whether the orange may have stolen a march over its ancient competitor in more than one sense — that is, not only for its alluring scent. The luxuriant beauty of the orange tree's evergreen canopy was graced by the omnipresence of plentiful blossoms and fruits, testimonies to the plant's ever-prolific condition; the bay's inconspicuous berries or even lack thereof, on the other hand, prompted the suggestion that bay trees could be sterile plants. Even Pliny (*Natural History*, XV. 39. 130), when discussing the varieties of laurel known to him, found it surprising ('quod maxime miror') that the so-called triumphal laurel (*laurea triumphalis*) should be given such a high-sounding name despite its being barren of fruit ('sterilem vero [...] triumphalem'). On an allegorical level of significance, the assumption about the plant's sterility implied that Apollo's quest for Daphne in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* had remained unfruitful, as the nymph had been turned into a bay tree before the god could seduce, or indeed rape her. When was this somewhat crude interpretation of that foundational myth of classical poetry conceived, or when did it even begin to receive serious attention? Almost a hundred years ago Otto Gruppe noted its presence among the 'allegories' appended to Lodovico Dolce's reworked translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1561); although Dolce, owing to the derivative nature of his work, can hardly be given credit for the invention of the theme.[20] In fact, this peculiar allegorization of the Daphne myth must date back at least to the *Ovide moralisé* (early fourteenth century), a work which continued to influence writers and readers well into the sixteenth century, both directly and through imitations of, and commentaries on, Ovid's poem:[21]

Dané fu muee en lorier
plus qu'en chesne ne en cerisier
n'en nul autre arbre que l'en voie,
quar si com li loriers verdoie
et nul temps ne pert sa verdure,
ne pour chalour ne por froidure,
ains verdoie en toute saison
sans fruit faire, ainsi par raison

doit virgini·ez verdoier
et vivre sans fructefier [...][22] (I. 3191–200)

[Daphne was turned into a laurel, not into an oak or a cherry or any other known tree, for just as the laurel is verdant and never loses its green in the hot or cold weather, so it is verdant in all seasons without bearing fruit: thus it must be verdant in a virginal state, and live without fructifying [...].]

III

The enduring faith and confidence in Latin as a *living* poetic language, which continued unabated during the first three decades of the sixteenth century, was primarily inspired by Pontano. Modern poets felt encouraged by his success to continue using the same medium the ancients had used, especially if they were embarking on works they aimed to make as ambitious and long-lasting — all things being equal — as those of their time-honoured models. This explains the long gestation and ensuing belated publication dates of such works as Iacopo Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis* (1526), Girolamo Fracastoro's *Syphilis* (1530), Marco Girolamo Vida's three books *De arte poetica* (1525) and *Christias* (1530), for all of which Pontano's poetry constituted a highly respected model. The very symbol Pontano had devised for his revisited Adonis myth, the orange tree, became for many the proudly acknowledged blazon of Neo-Latin poetry, in respectful but positive contrast with the bay tree of ancient verse.

The Neapolitan Iacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530), Pontano's most gifted pupil, deserves to be mentioned first. When King Frederick was forced by the French and the Aragonese to leave Naples in the summer of 1501, Sannazaro followed him into exile, thus gaining a reputation for being a loyal and selfless subject, heedless of his own personal advantage and only anxious to spare his sovereign the sadness of solitary confinement. Sannazaro was said to have sadly bidden goodbye to Naples and its gardens and citrus fruits ('Hesperides') in elegant Latin distichs while the boat was leaving the harbour, and the moving scene was inserted at the eleventh hour — after August 1501 and before Pontano's death in September 1503 — in Pontano's own dialogue *Aegidius*:

> Versiculi eius, quos discedens ipse, in puppi constitutus, quasi Nereidibus audientibus ac locorum nymphis, decantavit,
> Parthenope mihi culta, vale, blandissima Siren,
> atque horti valeant Hesperidesque tuae.[23]
>
> [He sang his verse standing at the ship's stern, almost as if he were addressing the listening Nereids and nymphs of the bay while departing: | 'Farewell, Parthenope, learned and most charming siren, | and farewell to your gardens and Hesperides'.]

Just as he had been loyal to his king, so Sannazaro remained loyal to the lesson of Pontano, and made the orange a symbol of his attachment to the noblest Neapolitan tradition. In his pastoral romance *Arcadia* (1504), which he completed while he was in exile, the narrating voice recalls the ominous dream of 'a magnificent orange tree' ('un albero bellissimo di arangio') felled 'to the ground with its leaves and

flowers and fruit' ('con le frondi e i fiori e i frutti sparsi a terra', *Arcadia*, xii. 7) — an intimation of the end of the Aragonese rule in Naples.[24] Twenty-two years later, when he eventually published his long overdue *De partu Virginis* (1526), Sannazaro claimed in the poem's final lines that the suitable crowning of his poetic career could only be a wreath of Neapolitan — and at this point, one could as well say Pontanian — orange leaves.

> Mergillina, novos fundunt ubi citria flores,
> citria Medorum sacros referentia lucos:
> et mihi non solita nectit de fronde coronam.
> (*De partu Virginis*, iii. 511–13)

> [Mergellina — where orange orchards put forth ever new blossoms, orange orchards that evoke the sacred groves of the Medians — weaves me a crown from uncommon leaves.][25]

The fame of Pontano's citrus trees was far from remaining confined to Naples. Several years after Pontano's death, while describing Agostino Chigi's Roman residence (now Villa Farnesina) in 1512, Blosius Palladius sang the praises of Pontano's Hesperides the moment he came across an orange tree in the villa's garden:

> Vos ne ego Pontano multum cantata poeta
> poma loquar? citriumque nemus? quaeve aurea parte,
> parte virent, biferoque micant pomaria cultu?[26]

> [Shall I speak of you, fruits sung of often by the poet Pontano? And of the orange groves? Which are partly golden, partly green, and shine by their double harvest?] (trans. Mary Quinlan-McGrath, adapted)

Francesco Maria Molza, also a poet residing in Rome, sang in one of his elegies the Pontanian myth of Adonis and the Hesperides. Interestingly, at line 44 of his autograph manuscript where the word *citrus* is introduced for the first time, Molza had initially (and revealingly) written *laurus* — almost a Freudian slip, as to his mind the two trees probably featured as interchangeable. He quickly corrected himself by striking the word through and by adding *citrus* on the same line.[27]

It would be no easy task to gather a precise notion of how influential Pontano's Adoniac and Hesperidean themes proved in areas and contexts less immediately related to his cultural milieu. As his oeuvre was reprinted a number of times in Switzerland, Germany and France throughout the entire sixteenth century and beyond, the appreciation of his poetry by that international readership must have been considerable. Suffice it to say that even for a contemporary French poet, the well-known secretary of Erasmus, Gilbert Cousin of Nozeroy, the orange was quite simply 'the tree of Adonis'.[28]

Pontano's re-invention appealed not only to Latin, but also to vernacular poets. Writing the first georgic poem in any European vernacular, *Della coltivazione libri sei* (first published in 1546 but written over a period of almost twenty years), the Florentine Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556) referred to the orange as the 'plant [...] that originated from Heaven',[29] and commiserated with the 'uncouth ancient world' for having been 'deprived of so noble a tree':

> Or qui, più d'altro, aver deve il cultore

l'alma verde odorata e vaga pianta
che fu trovata in ciel, che 'l pome d'oro
produsse [...]:
dico il giallo limon, gli aranci e i cedri,
ch'entr'ai fini smeraldi, al caldo, al gielo
(che primavera è loro ovunque saglia,
ovunque scenda il Sol) pendenti e freschi,
ed acerbi e maturi han sempre i pomi,
e 'nsieme i fior che 'l gelsomino e 'l giglio
avanzan di color [...].
O rozza antica età che fusti priva
di questo arbor gentil, non aggia il lauro,
non più l'uliva omai, non più la palma,
non più l'edra seguace i primi onori
dei carri trionfal, dei sacri vati:
ma sian pur di costor, né cerchi Apollo
d'altra fronde adombrar l'aurata cetra.[30] (*La coltivazione*, v. 673–700)

[Now here more than anything else must the farmer grow the sacred, verdant, scented and charming plant that originated in Heaven and produced the golden fruit [...]: I mean the yellow lemon, oranges and citrons, pending from their fine emerald-green [canopy], always fresh in hot as well as cold weather (as they live in eternal spring wherever the sun may rise or set), their fruits both ripe and unripened at one time, their blossoms surpassing the jasmine's and the lily's [...]. Oh uncouth ancient world, deprived of so noble a tree: now let the bay, the olive, the palm, the gregarious ivy be the prize of triumphal chariots and sacred poets no more, but let [citrus trees] be [that prize] instead; nor let Apollo admit any other adornment for his golden lyre.]

More prominent and authoritative than all others in his support and admiration for Pontano's poetry, however, was the Veronese physician and poet Girolamo Fracastoro (1476/78–1553). In the introductory lines of his masterpiece, the aetiological poem *Syphilis sive de morbo Gallico* (1530), Fracastoro invoked the protection of Pontano's Muse Urania (I. 24–52), and went on to honour Pontano himself as one of the marvels of his age:

Vidimus et vatem egregium, cui pulchra canenti
Parthenope, placidusque cavo Sebethus ab antro
plauserunt, umbraeque sacri manesque Maronis,
qui magnos stellarum orbes cantavit, et hortos
Hesperidum, coelique omnes variabilis oras.[31] (*Syphilis*, II. 38–42)

[We also saw [*sc.* in our age] that remarkable poet [Pontano], whose singing was applauded by beautiful Parthenope and peaceful Sebethus from his hollow cavern and by the ghostly shade of holy Virgil, the poet [Pontano] who sang of the great circles of the stars and the gardens of the Hesperides and all the realms of the changeable sky.] (trans. Eatough)

Further on in the same book, while describing decoctions intended to mitigate the disease, he eulogized a tree that looks like a conflation of a citron and an orange — the most revealing evidence of Fracastoro's habit of crossing Virgil's *Georgics* with Pontano's *Horti Hesperidum* — and recommended its medical virtues:

> Sed neque carminibus neglecta silebere nostris
> Hesperidum decus, et Medarum gloria citre
> sylvarum: si forte sacris cantata poetis
> parte quoque hac medicam non dedignabere Musam.
> Sic tibi sit semper viridis coma, semper opaca,
> semper flore novo redolens: sis semper onusta
> per viridem pomis sylvam pendentibus aureis.
> Ergo, ubi nitendum est caecis te opponere morbi
> seminibus, vi mira arbor cithereia praestat.
> Quippe illam Citherea, suum dum plorat Adonim
> munere donavit multo, et virtutibus auxit.[32] (*Syphilis*, II. 212–22)

[But you too, citron [*alternatively* orange], grace of the Hesperides and glory of the Persian forests, will not be passed over in silence, neglected by our poem — that is, if after being sung by sacred poets you do not disdain the Muse of medicine in this role too. So may your tresses be ever green, ever shady, ever fragrant with new flower; through your green wood may you be ever laden with pendent golden fruit. Therefore, when you must strive hard to oppose the disease's hidden seeds, the Cytherean tree is there to help with its wonderful powers. For the goddess of Cythera, while she wept for her Adonis, endowed it with great properties and increased its virtues.] (trans. Eatough)

IV

The uniqueness of Pontano's poetry may paradoxically have worked against the perpetuation of his fame among his immediate posterity. In the early decades of the sixteenth century, Bembo's doctrine of rigorous literary imitation was imposing itself with mounting authority, and Pontano was increasingly perceived as a hardly imitable model.[33] Unsurprisingly, when Bembo was given a chance to express his opinion on Pontano's own take on mythographic subjects, he could not repress his disapproval.

As the prospective dedicatee of *Syphilis*, in 1526 Bembo was privileged to receive from Fracastoro a draft version of the poem in advance of its publication. Bembo kindly obliged by praising Fracastoro's skilfully crafted Virgilian hexameters, his able handling of the difficult subject, and the suitable adaptation of classical mythology to a modern theme. On this last point, however, he felt that Fracastoro was in danger of overstepping the boundaries of decorum by indulging in excessive inventiveness, for which Bembo did not hesitate to lay the blame at Pontano's door.

> Del Pontano non parlo. Del quale se io avessi ad imitar cosa alcuna, vorrei imitar di lui le virtù, e non i vitii. Questo finger le favole in esso è così vizioso, che per questo non si può leggere alcun de' suoi poemi senza stomaco.[34]

[I won't say a word about Pontano — for if I were to imitate anything [from his works], I would rather imitate his virtues, not his faults. That habit of his of inventing new tales [*favole*] is so flawed that one can hardly stomach the reading of any of his poems.]

Pontano's didactic poems had by that time become the blueprint for all modern emulators of Virgil's *Georgics*, and it is a testimony to his enduring authority that Fracastoro, in spite of his genuine admiration for Bembo, did not bow to his anti-

Pontanian criticism.[35] But the episode is suggestive of a changing approach to the authors, literary genres and topics of the ancient world. Now that scrupulous and decorum-inspired imitation was expected, Pontano's uninhibited and versatile treatment of the ancient masters seemed a very far cry from the new trend. Moreover, while he was engaged in correspondence with Fracastoro, Bembo was portraying himself as the champion of 'regulated' Petrarchism, as his *Prose della vulgar lingua* (1525) had just been published. Arguably, no one more than Petrarch had insisted that poetry should be placed under the aegis of Apollo and the bay tree, the *lauro*, which in the fiction of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* is constantly associated etymologically with the name of the female heroine, Laura. There is very little doubt that, in Bembo's mind, Pontanian orange leaves could never match the Petrarchan bay tree.

V

It appears that any resurgence of the prestige of citrus trees would inevitably entail a simultaneous loss of status on the part of more traditional types of poetic foliage. Now nothing comparable to Pontano's celebration of his Hesperides can be found in the following centuries. Nevertheless, when poetic and aesthetic values and hierarchies are shaken, and the platitudes of official verse challenged, the symbols of poetry may also be subjected to review. In the late nineteenth century, in a lyric entitled 'Egoismo e carità' (later to be changed into 'Alloro-vite' [Laurel-Vine]), the abbé Giacomo Zanella rejected the pompously sterile laurel ('Odio l'allòr') and its 'splendid berries' which 'ripen in vain [and] nobody picks' ('ché la splendida bacca in van matura / non coglie alcuno'), and praised in contrast the crippled but generous vine ('Te, poverella vite, amo [...]').[36] Giosuè Carducci, who genuinely admired the poet Zanella despite his ecclesiastical status, rejected likewise the 'unfruitful laurel' ('lauro infecondo') and the oak for the vine, while eventually and sarcastically opting for the fir tree — i.e., the coffin — where his 'dark preoccupations' and 'vain desire' could be laid at rest.[37]

Zanella and Carducci provided the earliest symptoms of unease over the authority of worn-out poetic symbols, but it was not until 1925 that citrus trees once again gained prominence against their traditional competitors, in the famous opening poem from *Ossi di seppia*:

> *I limoni*
> Ascoltami, i poeti laureati
> si muovono soltanto fra le piante
> dai nomi poco usati: bossi ligustri o acanti.
> Io, per me, amo le strade che riescono agli erbosi
> fossi [...]
> [...] e mettono negli orti, tra gli alberi dei limoni.[38]

[*The Lemons* / But listen — Laureate poets wander only among plants no one knows here: boxwood, privet, acanthus. As for me, I love the roads that end in a grassy ditch [...] and lead into the orchards, among the lemon trees.]

Was the re-appearance of citrus trees in Eugenio Montale's *Ossi di seppia* a deliberate

retrieval of a long-forgotten icon of alternative poetry, or was it just an image re-emerging from the poet's memory, so often reminiscent — and notably in *Ossi di seppia* — of his Ligurian Riviera? Be that as it may, Montale's lemon trees stand in his verse as something unequivocally and programmatically different from the plants which laureate poets are said to relish and prize. To look for potential predecessors, both near and afar and in a variety of possible guises, may be an investigation worth conducting.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. Joseph Trapp, 'The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays. An Enquiry into Poetic Garlands', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 227–55.
2. Trapp, 'The Owl's Ivy', pp. 227–28. Cabbage was supposed to exercise a sobering influence on poets of that sort, thus preserving their health for further exploits.
3. Trapp, 'The Owl's Ivy', p. 228.
4. Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XV. 14. 47, who traces the designation of 'Median tree' back to the Greeks. There may also be an etymological play on 'medica' in connection with the vaunted therapeutic virtues of citron juice, used in antiquity to fight bad breath and — far less effectively — the bite of poisonous snakes.
5. Cf. Victor Hehn, 'Agrumi', in Id., *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa* (Berlin: Borntraeger, 1911), pp. 442–56; Franz Olck, 'Citrone', in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (= RE), ed. by August Friedrich von Pauly and Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893–1980), 84 vols., III. 2, cols 2612–24; Santi Floridia, *Gli agrumi* (Catania: Muglia, 1936); Giorgio Pasquali, 'Mutamenti nel paesaggio italiano' (1942), in Id., *Lingua nuova e antica*, ed. by Gianfranco Folena (Florence: Le Monnier, 1985), pp. 315–43 (p. 318); Francesco Calabrese, *La favolosa storia degli agrumi* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2004).
6. According to Samuel Tolkowsky, *Hesperides. A History of the Culture and Use of Citrus Fruits* (London: J. Bale & Co., 1938), pp. 90–100, the ancient Romans cultivated not only citrons but also lemons and oranges as well. See however the more prudent views of Olck, 'Citrone', in RE, III. 2, col. 2612, and of Calabrese, *La favolosa storia*, pp. 89–91.
7. Oranges and presumably lemons were brought to Western Europe from China and India via Persia by the Arabs (Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, pp. 444–45; Olck, 'Citrone', in RE, III. 2, col. 2612; Floridia, *Gli agrumi*, pp. 15–19, 22, 56–62).
8. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 83, as cited in Charles du Fresne, sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 3 vols (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1678), II, col. 302 ('Limones').
9. See *Poeti del Duecento*, ed. by Gianfranco Contini, 2 vols (Milan–Naples: Ricciardi, 1960), II, 411 ('Aranci e cedri, dáttili e lumie') and 425 ('arance e gran cidroni').
10. Theophrastus, *De causis plantarum*, I. 11 and I. 18. 5; Pliny, *Natural History*, XII. 7. 15; Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, XLVI. 4; Servius, *In Georgica expositio*. II. 127; Palladius, *Opus agriculturae*, IV. 10. 16; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, III. 19. 4; Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XVII. 7 (cf. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, pp. 444–45; Pasquali, 'Mutamenti', p. 317). See also the authoritative agriculturalist Pietro de' Crescenzi's *Ruralia commoda*, ed. by Will Richter and Reinhilt Richter-Bergmeier, 2 vols (Heidelberg: Winter, 1995–98), II, 112. For further references see Calabrese, *La favolosa storia*, pp. 117–21.
11. Introduction to Day III. 8, in Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. by Vittore Branca (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), p. 325.
12. Cf. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, ed. by Lucia A. Ciapponi and Giovanni Pozzi, 2 vols (Padua: Antenore, 1980), I, 80 (see also pp. 100, 115, 292, 305, 339, 365).
13. *Hort. Hesp.* I. 571: 'Et fructu felix et flore et fronde recenti', in Giovanni Pontano, *Carmina*, ed. by Benedetto Soldati, 2 vols (Florence: Barbèra, 1902), I, 244.
14. Cf. Giovanni Parenti, *Poëta Proteus alter. Forma e storia di tre libri di Pontano* (Florence: Olschki, 1985), pp. 8–11.

15. Carlo Caruso, *Adonis. The Myth of the Dying God in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 11–20.
16. Caruso, *Adonis*, Chapters 1 and 2.
17. On this famous but inaccurate statement, based on Virgil's likely misunderstanding of Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, VI. 4. 2, see Olck, 'Citrone', in RE, III. 2, col. 2613; Virgil, *Georgics*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 117–18; Caruso, *Adonis*, pp. 120–21, note 43.
18. Walther Ludwig, 'Neulateinische Lehrgedichte und Vergils *Georgica*', in *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass. Studies in Honour of L. Forster*, ed. by D. H. Green, L. P. Johnson and Dieter Wuttke (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1982), pp. 151–80 (pp. 151–52).
19. On the implications of the comparison see Caruso, *Adonis*, pp. 17 and 124, notes 75 and 76.
20. Otto Gruppe, 'Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte', in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. by Wilhelm H. Roscher, 10 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884–1921), Supplement, v. 4, p. 36. Dolce's 'allegories' appeared from the second edition onwards of his translation, *Le trasformationi ... con l'aggiunta de gli argomenti, et allegorie* (Venice: Giolito, 1561), p. 31: 'Per Dafne, che fuggendo Apollo fu trasformata in Lauro, il quale è arboro, che non fa frutto, si dinota la durezza delle donne, le quali non consentendo a gli affetti humani, divengono infruttuose al mondo.'
21. See Bodo Guthmüller, *Mito, poesia, arte. Saggi sulla traduzione ovidiana nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997); Id., *Ovidio Metamorphoseos vulgare* (Florence: Cadmo, 2008).
22. *Ovide moralisé: poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle*. Publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus par Cornelis de Boer, 5 vols (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller & Noord-Holland, 1915–1938), I, 129.
23. Giovanni Pontano, *Aegidius*, in Id., *Dialoghi*, ed. by Carmelo Previtera (Florence: Sansoni, 1943), p. 267.
24. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. by Carlo Vecce (Rome: Carocci, 2013), pp. 291–92.
25. Iacopo Sannazaro, *De partu Virginis*, ed. by Charles Fantazzi and Alessandro Perosa (Florence: Olschki, 1988), p. 82.
26. Blosius Palladius, *Suburbanum Agustini Chisii*, 196–98, in Mary Quinlan-McGrath, 'Blosius Palladius, *Suburbanum Agustini Chisii*. Introduction, Latin Text and English Translation', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 39 (1990), 93–157 (p. 127). On twice-bearing (*bifer*) harvests as a mark of exceptional fertility, see Caruso, *Adonis*, pp. 123–24, note 70.
27. Francesco Maria Molza, *Elegiae et alia*, ed. by Massimo Scorsone and Rossana Sodano (Turin: RES, 1999), p. 66, with the editors' note. For a description of Molza's autograph manuscript (Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Borg. 367), see pp. 141–56.
28. Gilbert Cousin of Nozeroy (Gilbertus Cognatus Nucillanus), 'De laudibus horti', in *Bucolicorum autores XXXVIII*, ed. by Johannes Oporinus (Basle: Oporinus, 1546), pp. 733–38 (p. 736: 'Adonidis arbor').
29. The descent from heaven is another traditional attribute of the bay tree (cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, XV. 39. 130), here transferred to the citrus tree.
30. Luigi Alamanni and Giovanni Rucellai, *La coltivazione e Le api* (Padua: Comino, 1718), pp. 181–82. The plant celebrated by Alamanni looks rather like a conflation of the three main varieties of citrus tree.
31. Girolamo Fracastoro, *Syphilis*, ed. and trans. by Geoffrey Eatough (Liverpool: Cairns, 1984), p. 64.
32. Fracastoro, *Syphilis*, p. 72.
33. On imitation in general, see Martin L. McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance. The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
34. Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, ed. by Ernesto Travi, 4 vols (Bologna: Commissione dei testi di lingua, 1987–93), II, 327 (Padua, 5 January 1526). See also Bembo's 'Avvertimenti' to Fracastoro in Girolamo Fracastoro, *Scritti inediti*, ed. by Francesco Pellegrini (Verona: Valdonega, 1955), p. 52.
35. Cf. Caruso, *Adonis*, pp. 21–28.
36. Giacomo Zanella, *Versi* (Florence: Barbèra, 1868), pp. 94–95.
37. Giosuè Carducci, 'Colloqui con gli alberi', in *Giambi ed epodi e Rime nuove. Edizione nazionale delle opere* (= OEN), 30 vols (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1935–1961), III, 171.

38. Eugenio Montale, *L'opera in versi*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini and Gianfranco Contini (Turin: Einaudi, 1980), p. 9.

CHAPTER 3

❖

Shadows, Memory and Self-Improvement: The Renaissance in Celio Calcagnini's *De profectu*

Nicola Gardini

> Eas igitur umbras, quae non extingunt, sed servant atque custodiunt lucem in nobis, et per quas ad intellectum atque memoriam promovemur atque perducimur, recognosce.
>
> [Recognise then those shadows which do not extinguish but keep and protect light in us, and through which we are moved forward and led to understanding and memory.]
>
> GIORDANO BRUNO, *De umbris idearum*[1]

Celio Calcagnini was born in Ferrara on 17 September 1479 and died in that city on 17 April 1541. Unlike anybody else before him, he was buried in the very library in which he had spent most of his time (the Biblioteca dei Padri Domenicani), as an inscription proudly declares: 'INDEX TUMULI COELI CALCAGNINI QUI IBIDEM SEPELIRI VOLUIT UBI SEMPER VIXIT' [THIS MARKS THE TOMB OF CELIO CALCAGNINI WHO WANTED TO BE BURIED WHERE HE ALWAYS LIVED].[2] From 1509 until his death, he held a chair *utriusque linguae* at the Studio in Ferrara and in 1510 he became canon of the cathedral. In his youth ('paene puerum' [almost a boy]), he served in the army of the emperor and of the pope and was the ambassador of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in Venice and in Rome.[3] He also followed the Cardinal to Hungary (which Ariosto refused to do) and spent a year and a half there, using his remarkable talents for diplomacy. In Hungary, he met the German scientist Jakob Ziegler and, diplomatic duties permitting, enthusiastically occupied himself with scientific investigations. After returning to Italy, he resumed his literary studies and spent the rest of his life teaching and writing for his pupils. His entire oeuvre was collected by Giovanni Girolamo Monferrato and edited by Antonio Musa Brasavola (1500–1555) after his death and published by Froben in 1544, at Basle, with the title *Opera aliquot*. Duke Ercole II d'Este himself paid for the publication.

Calcagnini is one of the great intellectuals of Renaissance Italy. There was virtually no field of knowledge, either literary or scientific, to which he did not attempt to apply his curious mind. He said important things on literature, religion, and science, and wrote numerous texts in prose and in verse. Ariosto refers to him

as 'il dotto Celio Calcagnini' in the *Orlando Furioso* (XLII. 90. 5) and includes him in the group of outstanding personalities who welcome the return of his poem's ship in canto XLVI.[4] Others appeared to be just as appreciative of Calcagnini's erudition, especially immediately after his death. Yet contemporary opinion was anything but unanimous, and admiration always came with reservations. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi wrote that Celio Calcagnini was the most learned man of his time, but regrettably he lacked the linguistic self-restraint of his Latin predecessors:

> Coelius vero Calcagninus Ferrariensis tanta est et tam varia eruditione atque doctrina ut omnibus mihi quos noverim hac parte sit anteponendus. Illi nescio quid tantum Romanae censurae ac consuetudinis deesse videtur ad eius plane iudicium perficiundum; nam cum ubique eruditior, ut est, videri velit, eo nomine taxatur.
>
> [Celio Calcagnini in my opinion is a man of such great and varied erudition and culture that he must be considered superior for this to all men I know. He only seems to lack the traditional Roman self-restraint for his reputation to be perfect; for while he wants to be quite erudite everywhere, as he is, he is criticized because of that very defect.][5]

Paolo Giovio presented him in even more negative terms, chastising even his generally acclaimed competence as a scholar.[6] Giovio's negative portrait influenced the reception of Calcagnini's work for a very long time, both in Italy and abroad. In England, William Roscoe, while influenced by later positive reappraisals of Calcagnini's work as a whole (to which I will refer shortly), still repeated Giovio's condemnation of his prose style.[7]

Two centuries after Giovio, Giannandrea Barotti, in his posthumous book on some illustrious men of Ferrara, embarked on a ground-breaking, openly anti-Giovio apology of Celio, which must be considered the first biography of the man and, in any case, was a successful attempt to vindicate Calcagnini's historical significance.[8] Barotti presents Celio as a champion of scholarship and devotion to studies. Following in the footsteps of Barotti, Tommaso Guido Calcagnini, a descendant of Celio, wrote an even more impassioned eulogy, *Della vita e degli scritti di monsignor Celio Calcagnini Protonotario Apostolico commentario*, published in Rome in 1818, which proclaims the value of Calcagnini's cultural legacy once and for all and dismisses Giovio's influential condemnation as envious and unfounded:

> talmente in tutte le scienze si approfondò, e tutte se le rese famigliari in guisa, che a ciascuna di esse egli parea nato, ciascuna sola egli aver coltivato, mentre (raro prodigio in vero) egli era tutto in tutte.[9]
>
> [he immersed himself in all sciences, and he became so familiar with them all that he seemed to have been born to cultivate each single one, while (a rare prodigy) his entire being was in all of them at the same time.]

Notwithstanding such vigorous defences, and others that followed (Piana's and Lazzari's, for example), Calcagnini never really made it into the literary canon.[10] Valerio Marchetti's pithy entry in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* sentences him to definitive marginality: 'Il suo enciclopedismo, la varietà dei suoi interessi culturali, il gusto per l'erudizione peregrina che domina in tutte le sue pagine gli impedirono di consegnare il frutto di un pensiero originale in un'opera destinata a

lasciare un'orma profonda nel suo tempo.' [The encyclopaedic variety of his cultural interests and his inclination to far-fetched erudition, as is apparent from his entire oeuvre, prevented him from handing down any original thought or an opus that could leave an enduring trace in his day.] Indeed, Calcagnini's significance and representativeness are still far from being properly assessed or even sufficiently addressed. As bibliographies show, very little is said, written, or even known about his literary achievements in academic circles. Only two of his works are available in modern editions: the letter on literary imitation and the opusculum on silence.[11] No critical edition of any of them exists. To paraphrase what Quirinus Breen remarked rather wittily more than sixty years ago, his importance continues to be that of a bridesmaid rather than of a bride.[12]

Of Celio Calcagnini the average scholar knows basically two things: that he was friendly with Ariosto, and that he authored an anti-Ciceronian treatise on literary imitation which set the seal on a decades-long debate on *imitatio*. Some may know him for his theories on the motion of the earth — which are surprisingly close to those of Copernicus. Very few know that Celio was, in fact, a man of many books and that he was also a man of many friends, among them — besides Ludovico Ariosto — Paolo Giovio, Gianfrancesco Pico, Cristoforo Longolio, Gregorio Cortesi, Lilio Gregorio, Agostino Staucchio, Girolamo Vida, Giovanni Manardi the physician, Celio Rodigino, Pierio Valeriano, Benedetto Lampridio, Jacob Ziegler, the painter Raphael, and Erasmus of Rotterdam. Such a list of celebrities in the life of a virtually forgotten author is in itself something to reckon with. To be sure, the value of authors should not be gauged by the importance of their friendships, but when it comes to the classicizing culture we call the Renaissance, exceptions to this golden rule are not only possible, but necessary. In the Renaissance, connections were strong indicators of, and actually occasioned, artistic and intellectual relevance. Celio himself described his life as that of someone who strove for 'principum virorum gratiam' [the favour of princes] and took pains not to sink to low places where he could not have been useful either to himself or to his friends.[13]

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A great number of works by Calcagnini have come down to us, some seventy opuscula on the most disparate subjects, including politics, grammar, love, navigation, philosophy, astronomy, religion, archaeology, and magic. Quite a few works by him, though, have been lost. The author himself was responsible for these losses. He did not seem to care particularly for what he wrote about. As Antonio Musa Brasavola wrote, 'hic eruditissimus vir [...] nullum penitus reliquit authorem, cuius monumenta bis terque non ingurgitaverit, ita sua quaeque despiciebat, et veluti neglecta ac abortiva, post scamna et scrinia videbantur: aegre ferebatque, si quis benevolus ab eo aliquid e suis scriptis petiisset, sua omnia indigna putans ut legerentur' [this most erudite man [...] devoured the works of every author two or three times; but he despised his own works and one would see them lying behind benches and cases as if they were neglected and unfinished; he hated it when some benevolent person asked him for one of his writings, because he thought that none was worthwhile reading].[14] Celio certainly did not attach great importance to his

literary achievements.[15] He received more gratification from writing casually than from editing or even publishing. As he stated in a letter, 'diem nullum sinamus effluere per negligentiam, nullus careat linea' ['we should not let one day go by in idleness, no day remain without one line'], a maxim attributed to his beloved Pliny the Elder.[16] His apologetic descendant thus described his stylistic rawness: 'Dotato di fervido, e sublime ingegno, sdegnò ogni servile legame, né fu pur sofferente della paziente lima; poiché al dir di Girolamo Monferrato [quoted by Barotti] essendo egli valetudinario, e uomo, che poco prezzava le sue fatiche, si dilettava piuttosto darsi piacere in cominciar cose nuove, che riveder le già fatte, o finire le già da lui cominciate.' [Endowed with a brilliant and sublime mind, he disdained all servile bonds, nor would he bear with the patient process of polishing his works; indeed, since he had poor health, as Girolamo Monferrato says, and cared for his endeavours very little, he would enjoy commencing new projects rather than perfecting what he had already accomplished or finishing what he had already started.][17]

Celio's life, like that of Ludovico Ariosto, spans a famously tragic period of Italian history, during which all dreams of eternal peace and prosperity were shattered by foreign invasions, and the great ideals of Quattrocento humanism were either given up or assumed a hue of self-defensive conservatism. Celio, like Ariosto, got to know the world of politics, and preferred literature. His intellectual protest, if we may call protest a virtually unparalleled urge for self-education, expressed itself most paradigmatically in a fierce rejection of the vernacular. He did translate one of Plautus's comedies, *Miles gloriosus*, into Italian, but only because the Duke had asked him to do so. In his celebrated letter on imitation (1532), Celio states his antipathy towards the vernacular in particularly resentful tones. For him, the language of Italy has become unbearably barbaric:

> non solum eloquentia desiit, sed vernaculus etiam ille, nostrorum maiorum sermo, in desuetudinem abiit, cuius locum foedissima barbaries ex variarum gentium colluvione, quae superioribus saeculis Italiam invaserunt, coalita occupavit, ut iam proprias et consuetas patrum et avorum voces requiramus.
>
> [not only has eloquence now disappeared in it, but even our ancestors' vernacular has fallen into disuse, replaced by the foulest barbarism, which has coagulated from the dregs of the various peoples that invaded Italy in previous centuries. That is why we now feel the loss of the proper and customary language of our fathers and forefathers.][18]

Yet there are men who have the nerve to dictate rules for the degenerated vernacular (Calcagnini is most probably aiming at Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* of 1525):

> Nunc autem in tam perdita tempora incidimus, ut in verbis perquirendis etiam frustra laboremus, nisi ad veteres ac receptos conditores perfugiamus, quorum authoritate innitamur, quos imitemur, quorum exempla mutuemur. Nam protritae voces illae, quibus, non dico vulgus et tabernarum mancipes utuntur, sed ipsi proceres qui rerum in Italia potiuntur, tantum abest ut praesidii et commodi quicquam ad eam rem nobis afferre possint, ut multo maxime a via nos deducant ac transversos agant.
>
> [Now, however, we have fallen on such ruinous times that we would even labour in vain to find words if we did not flee to the ancient and accepted

> authors, on whose authority we may depend, whom we may imitate and whose examples we may borrow. For the commonplace words that not only the vulgar and tavern-keepers use, but even the very noblemen who control Italian states, are so far from being able to lend us any assistance and usefulness in this matter that they actually steer us in the wrong direction and lead us astray.][19]

Such condemnation of the vernacular stems from political rather than stylistic presuppositions. Calcagnini was no Ciceronian in Latin, and he would by no means be a purist in the vernacular. His recourse to Latin — which was, however, a highly varied concoction of stylistic and lexical paradigms — is to be valued as an act of intellectual resistance in a moment of engulfing decay and not simply as a belated manifestation of humanistic faith in the inherent superiority of the Roman tongue. For Calcagnini imitation is anything but a passive, simian practice. Imitation must result in some kind of competition with the model. Indeed, his treatise on imitation ends with a passionate defence of emulation, mentioning the competition between Eros and Anteros: if Venus had not delivered the latter, the former would have never started to grow.[20]

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No doubt the scant interest of international academia in Calcagnini's work is partly a consequence of his literary method. Celio's opus resembles a curiosity shop or a museum with the most disparate collections. Pliny the Elder ranks high in his list of favourite authors. In the letter on imitation, he states that Pliny condenses the virtues of the most learned ancients (Aristotle and Theophrastus included) and writes more vividly than Cicero.[21] Of course, Celio also proves to be familiar with the works of many other ancient writers: Homer, Plutarch (both the *Moralia* and the *Lives*), Plato, Aristotle, Diogenes Laertius, Plautus, Virgil, Horace, Quintilian, Gellius, Seneca and quite a few minor writers, from all of whom he quotes abundantly. Erasmus's *Adagia* too must have figured among his favourite reads (where his name is explicitly mentioned).[22] Such cornucopian variety is admirable but, truth be told, also discouraging. The very sight of it makes one recoil with a feeling of satiety and remain content with the little one knows. But in reality, what the layman perceives as an overwhelming display of antiquarian or simply bookish culture stems from a highly conscious pedagogical model, which predicates the secret kinship of all disciplines. In a letter to his beloved nephew, which stands as a fine manifesto of late humanism, Calcagnini passionately defends his intellectual versatility and traces his faith in the encyclopedia to the Greek notion of *paideia* (a definition which had already appeared in Cicero's *De oratore*, III. 19–20 and in Vitruvius, *De architectura*, I.1):

> existimant illi [sc. the 'boni viri' mentioned earlier in the letter] literaria studia inter se dissidere, et partem parti non posse commode ferruminari. Hoc est seminarium improbae accusationis, hinc me erronem emansoremque [of a soldier, one who absents himself without leave] vocant: atque aliis foedissimis titulis polluunt: nescientes hoc unum esse corpus, quod paideian Graeci, nostri pulcherrime humanitatem dixere. Hoc omnia membra continentur, quae alii impudenter, ne dicam crudeliter et inhumane, discerpsere, alii quae ad mores,

> alii quae ad orationem, alii quae ad naturam, alii quae ad divinitatem pertinent: alii quae media inter naturam et divinitatem sunt, sibi arrogantes. Quae ita iuncta et copulata sunt inter se natura, ut sine piaculo disiungi non possint. Nam sicut in corpore humano nihil frustra positum est, quod ad suum opus sit institutum, caeterisque partibus respondeat, ut non sine pernicie avelli possit: ita disciplinae, id est humanitatis membra, inter se connexae sunt, ut seorsum positae mancae ac mutilae sint. Nemo ergo physica sine logicis, nemo logica sine mathematicis, nemo omnia sine orationis praesidio assequatur. Quare belle hanc harmoniam nonnulli enkyklopedian dixere.[23]
>
> [Those men believe that literary studies form no coherent whole and that the various parts cannot be easily combined together. This is the source of unjust accusations, therefore they call me a vagrant and a deserter, and offend me with other cruel nicknames: ignoring the fact that this is one body of knowledge, which the Greeks called *paideia* and our forefathers so elegantly termed *humanitas*. In this body all members are contained, which others shamelessly, not to say brutally and inhumanly, dispersed, some reclaiming for themselves morality, others oratory, others nature, others divinity, others the areas that stand between nature and divinity. All of these are so joined and united reciprocally by nature that they cannot be separated without committing a terrible sin. For, just as in the human body nothing is placed without a reason, but is designed to perform a given function and accords with the other parts, so that it cannot be removed without general damage, in exactly the same way these disciplines, i.e. the limbs of *humanitas*, are connected with one another, so that if separated they are defective and maimed. Nobody therefore can achieve physics without logic, logic without mathematics, anything without the support of oratory. This is why some have splendidly called this harmony *enkyklopedia*.]

Antonio Musa Brasavola wrote that Celio followed closely the Greek oracle's advice *oudèn glykyteron e pan eidénai* ('nothing is sweeter than knowing everything').[24] Unable to satiate his hunger for knowledge ('Omnium rerum esse satietatem praeterquam discendi'), he read his authors over and over again until he absorbed almost every word.[25]

Such pedagogy presupposed outstanding mnemonic abilities in the practitioner. In another crucial epistle, Calcagnini informs us about his mnemotechnics. His assumption is that 'nihil [...] lubricum magis homini dedit natura, quam memoriam, quam iacturam sola assiduitas et diligentia sarcire potest' [nature gave man nothing more slippery than memory, a defect one can repair only by means of constant dedication and diligence].[26] First of all, one should not read many things, but much of a selected number of authors: 'multum legamus, non multa.' Calcagnini credits Seneca with the introduction of this principle. Indeed, Seneca champions selective reading in a letter to Lucilius (1. 2). The wise reader should focus on a few authors only and avoid jumping from one to the next without giving himself time to absorb the words. In fact, the actual phrase 'multum legere' seems to make its first appearance in a letter of Pliny the Younger: 'multum legendum esse, non multa.'[27] Interestingly enough, Pliny introduces these words with 'aiunt' ('they say'), implying that reading deeply but selectively was already a common idea. It is hard to say whether Celio misattributed his source intentionally or not. In fact, his letter on mnemotechnics shows quite a noticeable degree of familiarity with Pliny's

writings. Celio's invitation to select the best authors ('optima quaeque seligenda sunt')[28] seems a rewording of Pliny's 'Tu memineris sui cuiusque generis auctores diligenter eligere' [you will remember to select carefully the authors of each specific genre].[29] It is also true, though, that Seneca himself states: 'Probatos [...] semper lege' [always read the excellent ones]. Later on in the letter, Celio states that translation from Greek is a very useful exercise. This too is to be found in the opening section of Pliny's letter. Celio's tricolon 'de literis multum cogitemus, multum loquamur, multum disceptemus' [as for literature, let us think, speak and discuss it a lot], on the same page, is clearly reminiscent of similar constructions in Pliny's discussion of literary pedagogy: e.g., 'multum disputare, multum audire, multum lectitare' [discussing a lot, hearing a lot, reading a lot] (*Epistulae*, IV. 23) or 'multum lege scribe meditare' [read, write and think a lot] (*Epistulae*, VI. 29).

Selective reading comes alongside some pragmatic strategies to empower one's memory. Celio, in the same letter, tells us he stores whatever information may turn out to be useful in notebooks ('commentarii') or on a separate sheet ('pagella').[30] Also, he marks the margin of the sheet with entries or little summaries which help him to recall to mind very rapidly entire volumes.[31] Celio is definitely against paraphrases or abridgements of works. Given his love for Pliny — 'eius autoris mira semper cupidine exarsi' [I have always burnt with extraordinary passion for this author] — his attempt to epitomize the *Historia naturalis* resulted in a word-for-word transcription of the whole thing ('omnem Plinium exscripserim'). In the end, Celio is quite content to call himself an 'excerptor' and a 'conditor' [compiler], someone who freely decides what should be included and what should be left out. Imitation itself, for Celio, is the art of excerpting: 'haec observat, *excerpit*, seponit, quae, cum tempus postulaverit, quasi ex penu depromat' [it observes, excerpts and sets aside things which, when the occasion demands it, it may produce as if from a storehouse].[32]

A defence of note-taking as an aid to memory appears in Celio's dialogue *De memoria* (included in the final section of *Opera aliquot*). Memnon condemns those orators who stick to notes during the delivery of their speech. Ancylometus, Calcagnini's alter ego, is not at all against the use of notes by an orator. For him, memory is just an instrument of oratory, not a part of it, oratory being essentially based on the moral goodness and linguistic ability of the orator — Ancylometus mentions the celebrated definition of the ideal orator as 'vir bonus dicendi peritus' [an excellent man skilled in oratory].[33] Also, as Celio stated in his letter, memory is not hugely dependable. Why would one want to rely on such a shaky and ruined thing?[34]

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In the rest of this chapter, I intend to discuss one of Calcagnini's most fascinating moral treatises, *De profectu*, an outstanding example of his mnemonic genius. Thematic and verbal similarities with the letter on imitation, which dates from 1532, suggest that this treatise may have been written around the same time.

The title means *On Progress [in Virtue]*. Tommaso Guido Calcagnini mentions it under the title *Ne quis ab umbra sua vinci sinat* along with the treatise on hunting

and that on moderation in studies, expressing enthusiastic praise for all of them: 'si troveranno sparsi di tal grazia, e lepore, di tanta erudizione, e giustezza d'idea, che non so se di più desiderar si possa' [such grace, and wit and erudition are scattered throughout these works that I do not think one could ask for more].[35] The art historian Edgar Wind refers to it fleetingly in his *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (chapter XI), rephrasing the original title as *Encomium umbrae*.[36] To my knowledge, the reference to Celio's *De profectu* in Wind's book is the only one ever to occur in any modern work in which Celio Calcagnini's name figures at all. No modern edition or translation of the text exists. A few years ago, just after arriving in Oxford, I decided to translate it into Italian and annotate it as fully as I could.[37]

Why pay attention to the *De profectu*? In the first place, I was attracted by the topic: shadows. Then, as my translation work proceeded, I grew more and more interested in the literary dimension of the work and became increasingly aware of its exemplary quotational agenda. Calcagnini's writing, as is clear from the *De profectu*, is an amazing laboratory of mnemonic strategies and allusive procedures which help us to explore with striking immediacy some essential aspects of Renaissance literary aesthetics, including literature written in the vernacular. I am convinced that the complex imitative network of such works as the *Orlando Furioso*, the *Prince* or even the subtler intertextuality of the *Cortegiano* may be better understood and categorized if we become more familiar with the hypertrophic allusive machinery of someone like Calcagnini.

Translating the *De profectu* was not difficult per se. Celio's Latin is fairly straightforward. Both his grammar and style reveal a minimum of artistic commitment. In this respect, Giovio's venomous remarks are not too far from reality. Overall, the reader receives an impression of haste and even sloppiness. Obviously, Calcagnini, at least while composing this treatise, was more concerned with *res* than *verba*. My difficulty as a translator lay in tackling Celio's relentless quotational work. Almost every sentence includes a reference, either open or covert, to some piece of ancient literature, either in Greek or in Latin. Such omnivorous intertextuality did not escape the criticism of some foreign contemporaries, as Barotti notes.[38] My task as a translator soon had to turn into detective investigation. Characteristically, Celio tends not to specify his sources, which made my endeavour all the more onerous, if admittedly always exciting and often rewarding. I believe I have traced, if not all, almost all of the important quotations (around 180 in 10,000 words, that is one every 55 words). I am not speaking here of the style of the writer, which in itself is a mosaic of classical loans, however neglectful and throwaway this style may appear at times.

Even the title *De profectu* echoes the Latin title of one of Plutarch's *Moralia*, namely *Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus* [How a Man May Become Aware of His Progress in Virtue]. Indeed, the *De profectu*'s quotational system is largely indebted to Plutarch's treatise. I suppose one could go so far as to say that Calcagnini's *De profectu*, with all its differences, is intended to be a 'modern' Latin counterpart of Plutarch's ancient Greek treatise, that is an invitation to the pursuit of a virtuous life. Resemblances are particularly conspicuous in the second part of Calcagnini's treatise. Yet one has to acknowledge that Calcagnini departs quite remarkably

from his model and does so successfully by means of a double strategy: first, by contaminating Plutarch's main subtext with numerous other texts (one of which is another of Plutarch's *Moralia*, *How to Profit from One's Enemies*); and secondly, by centring his moral teachings around a highly original exploration of the *umbra* metaphor, which is completely absent in Plutarch; or rather by developing (as is often the case with followers) an image which in Plutarch's *Progress in Virtue* is but fleeting and parenthetical:

> there are different degrees of progress produced by the abatement of baseness like a receding shadow, as reason gradually illuminates and purifies the soul. (76 B)[39]

Calcagnini's interest in shadow is not uncharacteristic of his time. While one can easily detect a long tradition of reflections on shadow among both the Christians and the pagans, shadow is arguably one of the great discoveries of the Renaissance. Art theorists, such as Alberti and Leonardo, associated it with the revolutionary notion of perspective and viewed it as a fundamental part of painting. Leonardo even planned a whole treatise on shadow. But shadow also concerned moral and political writers. Consider, for example, Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*:

> è necessario che 'l nostro cortegiano in ogni sua operazion sia cauto, e ciò che dice o fa sempre accompagni con prudenzia; e non solamente ponga cura d'aver in sé parti e condizioni eccellenti, ma il tenor della vita sua ordini con tal disposizione, che 'l tutto corrisponda a queste parti, e si vegga il medesimo esser sempre ed in ogni cosa tal che non discordi da se stesso, ma faccia un corpo solo di tutte queste bone condizioni; di sorte che ogni suo atto risulti e sia composto di tutte le virtù, come dicono i Stoici esser officio di chi è savio, benché però in ogni operazion sempre una virtù è la principale; ma tutte sono talmente tra sé concatenate, che vanno ad un fine e ad ogni effetto tutte possono concorrere e servire. Però bisogna che sappia valersene, e per lo paragone e quasi contrarietà dell'una talor far che l'altra sia più chiaramente conosciuta, come i boni pittori, i quali con l'ombra fanno apparere e mostrano i lumi de' rilievi, e così col lume profundano l'ombre dei piani e compagnano i colori diversi insieme di modo, che per quella diversità l'uno e l'altro meglio si dimostra, e 'l posar delle figure contrario l'una all'altra le aiuta a far quell'officio che è intenzion del pittore. (II. 7)[40]

> [it is necessary for our courtier to be cautious in every action, and always to mix good sense with what he says or does; and let him not only take care that his parts and qualities are excellent, but let him order the way of his life in such a manner, that the whole corresponds with these individual parts, and be seen to be always and in everything accordant with his own self and form one single body of all these good qualities; so that his every act is the result and compound of all his faculties, as the Stoics say is the duty of him who is wise, although in every action one faculty is always chief; yet all are so connected with one another that they tend to one end and may all serve every purpose. Therefore he must know how to make the most of them, and by means of contrast and as it were foil to the one, he must make the other more clearly seen, like good painters, who display and show forth the lights of reliefs by the use of shadow, and likewise deepen the shadows of flat surfaces by means of light, and so assemble their divers colours that both the one and the other are better

> displayed by reason of that diversity, and the placing of figures in opposition to one another helps them to perform that task which is the painter's aim.]

The shadow theme was to be of paramount importance in the gnoseology of Giordano Bruno (in whose *De umbris idearum* one finds some of the most beautiful remarks ever written on the subject) and would remain a trait of modernity in numerous fields: psychology, fiction, theatre, opera, and poetry.

Calcagnini appears to be aware of the many meanings and connotations of the concept of shadow, as expressed both by the Latin word *umbra* and the Greek word *skia*. The opening section of the treatise is an entertaining survey of classical topoi on shadow in all its possible meanings. The very first lines stage a gripping *skiamachia*, that is, a duel with one's shadow — a recurrent motif in ancient thematology on shadow. A man fears his shadow and assails it with a sword. Inevitably the shadow does the same. The man ends up consulting an oracle and the oracle tells him to inhabit light ('cole perspicua'):

> Audistis ne unquam viri clarissimi fabellam illam super eo conditam, qui cum umbra sua inimicitias exercebat, atque ita cum illa quasi cum hoste colluctabatur? Mirifice autem eam extimescebat, modo in dextram, modo in sinistram declinantem, nunc prorsum occurrentem, nunc subsequentem a tergo. Huius insidias usque adeo ille reformidabat, ut exerto saepe gladio in eam irruerit, nitens omni astu umbram conficere. Quod quom frustra conaretur: est enim (ut plane nostis omnes) acerrima corporis imitatrix umbra, omnesque motus atque impetus illius aemulatur & reddit: quoties itaque ille aut gladium strinxerat, aut ictum vibrabat: seu caesim, seu punctim appeteret: illa rursus quasi ad praescriptum pares vices obibat, mutuo saeviens, nunc in caput, nunc in pedes adsultans. Quare homini illi abunde persuasum erat, nihil esse umbra cautius aut infestius: timensque ne quando imprudens ab ea opprimeretur, oraculum adiit de securitate sua anxius. Huic vero responsum fuisse accepimus ab oraculo: Cole perspicua. An vero vos existimatis temere & de nihilo hanc fabellam effictam fuisse? Sane ego id non puto.[41]
>
> [Most distinguished gentlemen, have you ever heard that famous story of the man who was on bad terms with his shadow and fought with it almost as with an armed enemy? He indeed feared it most extraordinarily, as it bent now to the right now to the left, and now rushed forward, now followed from behind. He was so afraid of its guiles that, having often extracted his sword, he would attack it, striving to beat the shadow with all his shrewdness. But his attempts were to no avail. Indeed, as you all well know, one's shadow is a fastidious imitator of one's body, and emulates and reproduces all its movements and changes. Whenever then he held his sword and struck a blow, aiming with the edge or with the tip, the shadow would respond equally as if by some command, attacking with reciprocal fierceness, now hitting his head, now his feet. Therefore the man became convinced that nothing was more cautious and perilous than a shadow; and lest he might be assaulted unexpectedly, he consulted the oracle fearing for his safety. We know what the oracle responded to him: inhabit clarity. Or do you believe that this little story was made up haphazardly out of nothing? I really don't think so.]

Calcagnini presents the story as common knowledge ('fabellam illam'). But in fact, as I have established after long and careful investigations, Calcagnini invented the

story himself. The story is a fabrication ('efficta'), as he provocatively prompts the reader to suspect. To be sure, the *fabella* does not spring from nothing, 'de nihilo'. This we can grant. As is now quite clear to me, Calcagnini took his cue from a passage in Lucretius's *De rerum natura*:

> Umbra videtur item nobis in sole moveri
> et vestigia nostra sequi gestumque imitari,
> aëra si credis privatum lumine posse
> indugredi, motus hominum gestumque sequentem. (IV. 364–67)
>
> [Our shadow also appears to move in the sun
> and to follow our footsteps and to imitate our gestures,
> if you can imagine air deprived of light able
> to march along, following the motions and gestures of men.]

There must also be an echo of Ovid: 'ut in aequore summo | umbra viri visa est, visam fera *saevit* [my emphasis] in umbram' (*Metamorphoses*, IV. 712–13) [as on the surface of water / the shadow of the hero is seen, the monster rages against the seen shadow], from the battle between Perseus and the sea monster, and of Seneca: 'Gloria umbra virtutis est: etiam invitam comitabitur. Sed quemadmodum aliquando umbra antecedit, aliquando *sequitur* vel *a tergo* est [my emphasis], ita gloria aliquando ante nos est visendamque se praebet, aliquando in averso est maiorque quo serior, ubi invidia secessit' (*Epistulae Morales*, IX. 79. 13) [Glory is the shadow of virtue, it will always follow it even if virtue does not want to be followed. But just as shadow sometimes comes first and sometimes comes after from behind, so does glory sometimes come and show itself before us, while at other times it stands behind and the later it comes the greater it is, once envy has disappeared].[42]

That Calcagnini knew the Lucretian passage on shadow is demonstrated by the fact that he concludes his treatise with a direct quotation of *De rerum natura*, IV. 368–69:

> nam nihil esse potest aliud nisi lumine cassus
> aër id quod nos umbram perhibere suëmus.
>
> [indeed that which we usually call shadow can be
> nothing else but air deprived of light.]

Lucretius's 'gestumque imitari' seems to resonate directly in Calcagnini's own 'acerrima corporis imitatrix umbra'.

It could then be argued that the whole text of the *De profectu* is bracketed by memories of Lucretius, indeed by a specific quotation from the *De rerum natura* — a rather interesting example of Lucretius's controversial fortune in the early sixteenth century.[43] One may also produce another plausible source, Plutarch's moral treatise on slanderers, which was well-known to Calcagnini and enjoyed remarkable fortune in those years: 'I have no use for a friend who shifts about just as I do and nods assent just as I do (*for my shadow better performs that function*), but I want one who tells the truth as I do, and decides for himself as I do' (*Moralia*, 53b).[44] This is merely a parenthetical observation, and one connected with a different context. Yet, as is often the case with Calcagnini's literary memory, it worked well enough as construction material (especially in combination with the Lucretian subtext —

actually, it may well have activated the retrieval of the Lucretian subtext itself). Cicero may arguably be another intertextual reference in his own right: 'mihi videtur iste qui umbras timet ad caedem spectare' [this man who fears even shadows seems to be aiming at a massacre] (*Ad Atticum*, xv. 20. 4).[45] And Plautus too: 'Quid tu, malum, me sequere?' 'Quia certum est mihi, / quasi umbra, quoquo tu ibis te semper sequi' [Why, damn it, are you following me? Because I have made up my mind, to follow you always, like a shadow, wherever you go] (*Casina*, i. 3. 4). Calcagnini's *fabella* offers two interesting additions to the clichéd representation of *umbra* as imitator and follower (two roles which, I note in passing, immediately connect the shadow image with the theme of imitation): the sword and the oracle. Where do these two elements come from? The sword is snatched straight from Aeneas's hand in *Aeneid*, vi. 290–94:

> corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
> Aeneas strictamque aciem venientibus offert,
> et ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore vitas
> admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
> inruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.
>
> [here trembling with sudden terror Aeneas takes out
> his sword and turns the naked blade against them,
> and had his wise companion not warned him that these are faint,
> bodiless lives flitting under a hollow appearance of form,
> he would have rushed and tried in vain to cleave shadows with steel.]

From here Calcagnini took not only the sword, but also some relevant vocabulary: *reformidabat* (*formidine*), *irruerit* (*inruat*), *frustra* (*frustra*), *strinxerat* (*strictam*). The response of the oracle, on the other hand, bears a striking resemblance to an autobiographical statement in Calcagnini's treatise *Quod studia sunt moderanda*: 'existimaremque mihi vivendum potius in hac luce hominum, quam in tenebris delitescendum' ['I would think that I must live in this light of men rather than hide in the dark'] (see note 13). This sentence is echoed also in a later passage of the *De profectu*: 'in hac luce vivamus, opemque et operam nostram civibus nostris polliceamur' [let us live in this light, and let us promise our help and support to our fellow citizens].

After the description of the *skiamachia* and the playful suggestion that the *fabella* might have been invented, he suspiciously rushes to pre-empt his readers' disbelief by appealing to the authority of Plato, Cicero, Plutarch, Galen and Paul of Aegina (a seventh-century Byzantine physician), to none of whom evidently can the *fabella* be attributed, or they would not be invoked to endorse the 'famous' story. In the end, Calcagnini found the theme of *skiamachia* in these ancient authors and in the others quoted above, and contributed his own version of it by adding a sword and an oracle.

This kind of creative procedure is all the more likely to take place in the opening section of a work, that is in one of the most rhetorically sustained parts of a discourse. One cannot exclude that Calcagnini's *skiamachia* may have originated from Erasmus's *Adagia* (i. 5. 65): 'umbram suam metuere' (in Greek, 'ten hautoù skiàn phobeisthai'), which quotes an unidentified passage from Aristotle, Plato's *Phaedo* (like Calcagnini), Cicero's *Commentariolum petitionis* (9) and Plutarch's *Table-talk*

(*Moralia*, 709c). In sum, Calcagnini, at the beginning of the *De profectu*, literalized the content of a metaphorical saying which had been circulating for centuries.

My supposition that he himself fabricated the *fabella* receives further support from Janus Dousa (1545–1604), the Dutch editor of Catullus (among others), and himself the author of an essay on shadows. Here is the relevant passage:

> Atque neque illud possum silentio praeterire, quantum Sciamachiae, seu umbratili pugnae veteres tribuerint, cujus & Cicero aliquoties mentionem facit, & Satyram eo nomine inscriptam à doctissimo Romanorum Varrone constat, & à medicis recensetur inter exercitamenta, quae intensione carent & violentia. Unde & lepida fabella conficta est de eo, qui cum umbra sua inimicitias exercebat, atque ita cum illa, quasi cum hoste, colluctabatur.[46]
>
> [And I cannot pass over in silence the importance that the ancients attached to *skiamachia* [shadow-fighting], which Cicero sometimes mentions, and on which we know that Varro, the most learned of the Romans, wrote a satire with that title, and which doctors count as one of those exercises that lack effort and violence. From such sources a clever little fable was also fabricated about a man who was on bad terms with his shadow and fought with it almost as with an armed enemy.]

Dousa states that he should not stay silent on the ancient *skiamachia* and makes references to Cicero, a satire by Varro (lost, but quoted by Gellius in *Noctes Atticae*, xiii. 23. 4) and some medical sources. He then refers to the 'lepida fabella' of Calcagnini. He does not mention Calcagnini by name, but he does quote the text of the *De profectu* verbatim ('cum umbra sua etc.'). What is interesting here is the conjunction 'Unde': Dousa, a great expert on ancient literature, presupposes that the *fabella* was based on the classical sources mentioned in the previous sentence.

Dousa's text is interesting in another respect: it shows that Calcagnini's *De profectu* enjoyed some international circulation. Indeed, we find a significant quotation of it even towards the end of the sixteenth century, in Johannes Jahoda's *Allocutiones sacrae* (1578): 'Mirifice enim illam extimescebat etc.' [indeed he feared his shadow extraordinarily etc.].[47] At this point, in the right-hand margin of the page, the edition prints the name of Calcagnini. I feel confident in suggesting that Sambucus's emblem of bad conscience — 'In poenam sectatur et umbra' [even one's shadow pursues one for punishment] — showing a man holding a sword and attempting to sever his shadow from himself, was most probably based on the opening passage of the *De profectu* (the first edition of the *Emblemata* appeared in 1564).[48] The Latin text appended to the image even presents linguistic echoes of Calcagnini's text: 'quotiens' ('quotiens' in Calcagnini), 'mutua vulnera vidit' [saw mutual strikes] ('mutuo' in Calcagnini).

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After such a theatrical demonstration of the power of *umbra*, Calcagnini moves on to illustrate its merits. *Umbra* is what enables astronomers to measure distances between planets, the size of the sun and the topography of our globe. *Umbra* is the name of our soul when we are dead. *Umbra* serves architects and artists. *Umbra* enabled Demosthenes to recapture the attention of his audience (Pseudo-Plutarch,

Lives of the Ten Orators, 848a). And so on. What is striking in this erudite digression on the various meanings of the term 'umbra' is Calcagnini's avoidance of the trite. *Umbra*, for example, appears as a recurrent image of sin in the writings of St Paul and St Augustine, but Calcagnini keeps his thematic exploration within the fixed boundaries of pagan literature. Even there, he originally refrains from quoting the most obvious passages on 'umbra' in ancient literature: that is, Pliny the Elder's account of the invention of painting (*Natural History*, xxxv. 5. 15, but also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, x. 2. 7) and Plato's myth of the cave (*Republic*, vii, 514b–520a).

The second part of the treatise shifts the focus onto the actual theme of Calcagnini's discourse. *Umbra* is what, in the self, is opposed to reason. Since reason (as Minerva, i.e. wisdom) is the ultimate goal of a good life, one must repress *umbra*. *Umbra* makes one think one is taller than in reality. *Umbra* makes kings want to be worshipped. *Umbra* made Xerxes build a bridge on the Hellespont. *Umbra* — as Nietzsche himself suggests in various passages of *Human, All Too Human* (1878) — is synonymous with vanity, megalomania, or, to use a modern word, narcissism. Some were so aware of their *umbra* that they tried to resist it by having others remind them daily of their human condition. Flattery is a dangerous ally of *umbra*.[49] Flatterers must be rejected. The Macedonian king Antigonus responded to someone who called him immortal: 'He who attends my chamber-pot would say differently.' It is above all the young who must be on their guard against *umbra*. In the passage on the moral weakness of youth, Calcagnini refers once again to the *fabella* and exhorts young people, with a favourite metaphor, to live in the light: 'in perspicuo habitemus' (p. 327).

At this point, the treatise shifts into a new section, dealing with the moral education of the young. The first part of this section — a good demonstration of Calcagnini's philosophical syncretism — is packed with examples from disparate sources (Plato, Epicurus, Zeno, Aristotle, Diogenes, Orpheus etc.) stressing the importance of virtue. Once love of virtue has entered our souls, we are likely to defend ourselves more effectively from the persistent assaults of *umbra*. Still, the path to happiness is steep and hard. The attainment of virtue costs immense efforts. Daily commitment to virtue is the price of immortality. Pain and pleasure are mingled in the practice of virtue.

In the next section, we are told that ancient literature is an ideal collection of virtuous examples. Everybody should read the classical authors and be inspired by them. Virtue here becomes synonymous with truth, and *umbra* with falsity. If you want to know the truth, ask a book. 'Books do not blush nor do they fish for compliments' ['libri neque erubescunt neque gratiam aucupantur'] (p. 329). Here too we find a passage on selective reading and on multiple imitation. Calcagnini resorts to the metaphor of the bee, which is a topos in the humanistic debate over *imitatio* (and very common in ancient literature, from Plato to Plutarch), and paraphrases a passage from Plutarch's *Progress in Virtue*:

> For as Simonides says of the bee that it flits among the flowers,
>
> Making the yellow honey its care,
>
> while the rest of the world contents itself with their colour and fragrance, getting nothing else from them, so, while the rest of the world ranges amid

> poems for the sake of pleasure or diversion, if a man, through his own initiative, finds and collects something worth while, it is reasonable to expect that he at last, from force of habit and fondness for what is beautiful and appropriate, has made himself capable of appreciating it. (79c-d)[50]

Calcagnini agrees that one should avoid purely hedonistic reading. Books teach us not just how to entertain ourselves or to speak well, but how to act well.

Calcagnini is against pleasure per se. Even games and jokes are required to improve our customs. Pleasures spoil truth. They aim at easy gratification. One should commit oneself and toil and struggle, and get rid of all that is inessential. At some point in the past, the Spartan ephors ordered that the lyre be deprived of four strings, seven strings being enough to maintain harmony. Too many variations in music push the young off-balance; they lose self-control. The highest ideal is *frugalitas*, or *sophrosyne*: i.e. spiritual health, as Plato would put it. This gives strength to one's soul and eyes, dispelling shadows. Pursue virtue, and one will obtain glory and honour. Honour promotes the liberal arts and heroic actions. He who pursues such a life will not be captured or put to rout by shadows, since no guilt stains his conscience. We should keep in mind the negative example of Alcibiades: no one was ever more subjugated to his own shadow. We do not want to be like him at all. The pursuit of virtue will make us useful to our city, virtue being in the end nothing but the willingness to benefit others.

But how does one attain virtue? For our author, imitation is the way. Nobody can succeed without a guide. Just as children learn eloquence from Demosthenes or Cicero, so do we learn how to act virtuously by imitating the great ancients. Follow in their footsteps and become a great man yourself, and if you should ever err, you will be excused, because you were misled by an illustrious model.

Not surprisingly, imitation is discussed quite extensively in the *De profectu*. As already suggested, the very notion of *umbra* pertains to the semantics of *imitatio*. Just as in the concluding section of the letter on imitation, the idea of *aemulatio* is central here too.[51] Once again, Plutarch appears to have served as a fundamental source, competition being crucial in his treatises *Progress in Virtue* (84b-85b) and *How to Profit by One's Enemies* (in particular 87f-88a and 92b-f, which contains the final words of the treatise). In the former the Greek author writes:

> We must therefore believe we are making but little progress so long as the admiration which we feel for successful men remains inert within us and does not of its own self stir us to imitation. [...] the man who is truly making progress, comparing himself with the deeds and conduct of a good and perfect man, and being pricked by the consciousness of his own shortcomings, yet at the same time rejoicing because of his hope and yearning, and being filled with an urging that is never still, is ready in the words of Simonides
>
> To run like a weanling colt beside its dam,
>
> so great is his craving all but to merge his own identity in that of the good man. (*Progress in Virtue*, 84c-d)[52]

In its concluding section, the *De profectu* turns into a passionate praise of philosophy, 'rem inter omnes sanctissimam' [the most sacred thing of all], as Celio defines it in the letter on imitation (6). The main references are now to Pythagoras and Plato.

The philosophical life practises silence, self-analysis, constancy, obdurance, and self-correction. Do question your behaviour when it appears to be wrong, but do not turn back like Orpheus. And, above all, learn the causes of things. Do not be overwhelmed by wonder. Indeed, wonder (*admiratio*) stems from ignorance.[53] Have a philosophical attitude to everything and one will triumph over the worst catastrophes. As Socrates said: 'They can kill me, but they cannot injure me.'

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

It is now time to bring this analysis to a rapid close. The *De profectu*, while clearly not a literary masterpiece, is nonetheless a highly intriguing text, in cultural, literary and rhetorical terms. By exploring the shadow theme from numerous points of view, it gives a wonderful demonstration of Renaissance *varietas*. But, above all, it provides an interesting sample of mnemonic procedures — from direct quotation to misquotation, conflation of sources, even reinvention, as shown in its spectacular *incipit* —, bringing to the fore the complexity of Renaissance *imitatio*, and it demonstrates in most exemplary terms what a central position self-improvement occupies in humanistic pedagogy, endorsing a quintessentially modern quest for epistemological innovation through well-established, although not too obvious *auctoritates*.

I would like to believe that this chapter has also done something in support of light, bringing Calcagnini and his adventurous text out of the shadow of a centuries-long neglect.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Giordano Bruno, *Opere mnemotecniche*, ed. by Marco Matteoli, Rita Sturlese, Nicoletta Tirinnanzi (Milan: Adelphi, 2004), p. 64. Here and elsewhere in this chapter, all English translations are my own unless otherwise stated.
2. Tommaso Guido Calcagnini, *Della vita e degli scritti di monsignor Celio Calcagnini Protonotario Apostolico commentario* (Rome: Stamperia De Romanis, 1818), p. 67.
3. Calcagnini himself provides this information: *Quod studia sunt moderanda*, in *Opera aliquot* (Basle: Froben, 1544), pp. 324–25.
4. Ariosto also alludes to Calcagnini in *Satire*, I. 171. For Calcagnini's friendship with Ariosto see Michele Catalano, *Vita di Ludovico Ariosto*, 2 vols (Geneva: Olschki, 1930), I, 193 ff. Calcagnini mentions Ariosto and the *Furioso* in his dialogue *Equitatio*.
5. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Modern Poets*, ed. and trans. by John N. Grant (The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 77.
6. Pauli Iovii, *Opera*. Tomus VIII: *Elogia virorum illustrum*, ed. by Renzo Meregazzi (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1972), pp.135–36.
7. William Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X,* 5th edn, 2 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846), II, 305.
8. Giannandrea Barotti, *Memorie istoriche di letterati ferraresi*, 3 vols (Ferrara: Stamperia Carnerale, 1792–1811), I, 231–46.
9. *Della vita e degli scritti di monsignor Celio Calcagnini*, p. 28. This motif probably derives from Livy's portrait of Cato the Elder (XXXIX. 40), which had been echoed by Alberti in his own self-portraits: see Chapter 1, p. 21, n. 14.
10. Ernesto Piana, *Ricerche ed osservazioni sulla vita e sugli scritti di Celio Calcagnini, umanista ferrarese del secolo 16°* (Rovigo: Tipografia Vianello Condotta da A. Conzatti, 1899); Alfonso Lazzari, 'Un enciclopedico del secolo XVI. Celio Calcagnini', in *Atti e memorie della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, vol. XXXI (Ferrara: Premiata Tipografia Sociale, 1936), pp. 83–164.

11. The letter on imitation (both in the original Latin and in an English translation) is included in *Ciceronian Controversies*, ed. by JoAnn Della Neva, trans. by Brian Duvick (The I Tatti Renaissance Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 144–81. A translation of the opusculum on silence is included in Celio Calcagnini et al., *Elogio della menzogna*, ed. by Salvatore S. Nigro (Palermo: Sellerio, 1990), pp. 31–50.
12. This is the complete passage from the opening paragraph of Breen's article: 'He was considered to be one of the most learned men of Italy. Yet his importance was always that of a bridesmaid rather than of a bride. It has its uses, however, to look at a wedding from a bridesmaid's angle. To see an era reflected in the career of a minor actor may prove rewarding' (Quirinus Breen, 'Celio Calcagnini', *Church History*, 21:3 (September 1952), 225).
13. 'existimaremque mihi vivendum potius in hac luce hominum, quam in tenebris delitescendum: aucupandum principum virorum gratiam potius, quam in bonos et benemeritos refunderem, quam eo loco desidendum, ubi nec mihi nec amicis quicquam possem accomodare' [I thought I should live in the light of such men rather than hide away in darkness; I should pursue the favour of princes which I could reflect onto good and deserving people, rather than sink in a place where I could not help either myself or my friends.] (*Quod studia sunt moderanda*, in *Opera aliquot*, p. 324).
14. See the 'Epistula nuncupatoria' in his *Opera aliquot* (no page number).
15. Cf. 'ego homo mediocris ingenii, et nullius prope literaturae' [I am a man of moderate intelligence and almost no literary education] (*Quod studia sunt moderanda*, p. 324).
16. In reality, nowhere in his work does Pliny say precisely that. Instead, he did write à propos of the painter Apelles: 'Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua consuetudo *numquam* tam occupatum *diem* agendi, ut *non lineam* ducendo exerceret artem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit' [my emphasis: Moreover it was a regular custom with Apelles never to let a day of business be so occupied that he would not practise his art by drawing a line, which has passed from him into a proverb] (*Natural History*, xxxv. 84).
17. *Della vita e degli scritti di monsignor Celio Calcagnini*, p. 65.
18. *Ciceronian Controversies*, p. 149.
19. Ibid.
20. Calcagnini wrote a whole treatise on Anteros, *De mutuo amore*, in *Opera aliquot*, pp. 416–42.
21. 'Certe in historia naturae C. Plinium facile omnibus praetulerim, in cuius descriptione, nemo mirificas illas opes feliciore penicillo expressit; nemo dulcius, nemo aptius Aristotelem, Theophrastum, totamque illam doctissimam antiquitatem sub compendio repraesentavit. Certe me loca quaedam ex Cicerone excerpta et a Plinio repetita conferentem ingens admiratio pervasit, cum ea commodius ac subtilius a Plinio enarrata (meo quidem iudicio) offendissem' [On natural history, of course, I would far prefer Pliny to anyone else. For no one describes the marvelous riches of nature with a more fruitful quill; no one more pleasantly, none more fittingly reproduced Aristotle, Theophrastus and all the most learned ancients in abridged form. In comparing certain passages that had been excerpted from Cicero and repeated by Pliny, I was amazed to find that Pliny, in my opinion of course, had narrated them more aptly and subtly.] (*Ciceronian Controversies*, p. 167). Calcagnini's passion for Pliny's stylistic greatness is a telling instance of his enduring 'fortuna' in Ferrara: Pliny was one of Guarino's favourite authors, along with other writers of *res*: see Eugenio Garin, *Ritratti di umanisti* (Florence: Sansoni, 1967), p. 73. Indeed, the University of Ferrara, in Calcagnini's years, was the seat of a fiery debate over the scientific value of Pliny's work. Calcagnini, though, had a purely literary understanding of the *Natural History*, that is he viewed in Pliny mostly an alternative model to Cicero. On the reception of Pliny in the Renaissance, see Charles G. Nauert, Jr, 'Humanists, Scientists, and Pliny: Changing Approaches to a Classical Author', *The American Historical Review*, 84 (1979), 72–85. This excellent article describes how a purely philological treatment of Pliny was progressively followed by a predominantly scientific evaluation of the contents of the *Natural History*. Calcagnini is mentioned only as a friend of Jacob Ziegler, the author of a scientific commentary on Pliny, and not as someone who, in his own right, worked to relocate Pliny within the framework of official culture.
22. On Celio's relations with Erasmus see the entry 'Calcagnini' in *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 1, 242–43.

23. *Opera aliquot*, p. 23
24. 'Epistula nuncupatoria', in *Opera aliquot* (no page number).
25. Ibid.
26. *Opera aliquot*, p. 26. Likewise, memory, in the letter on imitation, is considered more a gift of nature than an intellectual ability: 'Sola est memoria quae ita in nobis tota delitescit, ut a naturae beneficio magis quam ab ingenii facultate pendeat' [Memory alone lies so totally hidden in us that it depends more on the gift of nature than on one's intellectual abilities] (*Ciceronian Controversies*, p. 157).
27. Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, VII. 9.
28. *Opera aliquot*, p. 26.
29. Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, VII. 9.
30. 'Ego profecto quicquid lego, quicquid meditor, ita omne in arcanis animi recondo, quasi mox ad usum humanarum actionum expositurus. Et quoniam arduum nimis reor omnia seorsum excerpere: multa sane in commentarium refero, aut seorsum in pagella exscribo' [Whatever I read and reflect upon, I hide entirely in the secret treasury of my mind, with the intention of taking it out later to use in practical life. And because it is extremely hard for me to seize everything all at once, I transfer many things into a notebook or write them out individually on a separate sheet] (*Opera aliquot*, p. 26).
31. 'in margine compendiose omnia, quae digna sunt aliqua animadversione, sepono [...] hinc ea mihi utilitas nascitur, ut vel sesquihora multa possim volumina recognoscere.' [Whatever I consider worthy of notice I summarise separately in the margin [...] this is of such utility that I can survey a lot of volumes even in an hour and a half] (*Opera aliquot*, p. 26). It is worth noting that the unusual word 'sesquihora' is a hapax in classical Latin where it occurs only in Pliny the Younger's letters (*Epistulae*, IV. 9. 9), once more confirming Calcagnini's enthusiasm for this author.
32. My emphasis: see *Ciceronian Controversies*, pp. 161, 163.
33. *De memoria*, in *Opera aliquot*, p. 597. Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XII. 1: 'Sit ergo nobis orator quem constituimus is qui a M. Catone finitur vir bonus dicendi peritus' [Let then the orator be for us he who is defined by Cato an excellent man skilled in oratory].
34. On mnemonic losses see *De memoria*, in *Opera aliquot*, pp. 597–98.
35. *Della vita e degli scritti di monsignor Celio Calcagnini*, p. 37.
36. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), p. 142.
37. This annotated translation will be published some time next year. The original text of *De profectu* is in *Opera aliquot*, pp. 325–37.
38. *Memorie istoriche di letterati ferraresi*, pp. 237–38.
39. Plutarch, *How a Man May Become Aware of His Progress in Virtue*, in Plutarch, *Moralia*, I, ed. by Jeffrey Henderson, trans. by Frank Cole Babbitt (London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 407.
40. I comment on this passage and the relevant intertextual sources in my book *Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2010), pp. 232–35.
41. *Opera aliquot*, p. 325.
42. The Senecan concept had already been echoed in Petrarch's *Africa*, though it is unlikely that this was Calcagnini's source: 'Illa [Gloria] vel invitum, fugias licet, illa sequetur. / Ut sub sole vagum comitatur corporis umbra / ipsa tui: quocumque gradum tu flexeris, illa / flectitur et stat, si steteris; sic Fama volentem / nolentemque simul sequitur. Sed numquid ineptum / dixeris arenti gradientem in pulvere, ut umbram / aspiciat post terga suam?' (*Africa*, II. 486–92). The idea had also been mentioned in another favourite text of Petrarch's, Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*: 'Gloria virtutem tamquam umbra sequitur' (I. 45. 109).
43. There are numerous studies of Lucretius's rediscovery. See to start with: Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); and Stephen Greenblatt, *The Swerve* (New York: Norton, 2011).
44. My emphasis: see Plutarch, *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, in Plutarch, *Moralia*, I, p. 287.
45. I thank Sergio Audano for referring me to this source.
46. *In Laudem Umbrae Declamatio et Carmen*, in Scriptores Varii, *Dissertationum Ludicrarum et Amoenitatum* (Leiden: Francis Heger, 1644), p. 292.

47. Johannes Jahoda, *Allocutiones Sacrae Super Evangelia Dominicarum, Editio Secunda* (Würzburg: Hertz, 1578), pp. 15–16.
48. Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, 4th edn (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1576), p. 243 [first edition 1564]. The same emblem appears in Geoffrey Whitney's book of emblems (1585, also published by Plantin).
49. This connection between flattery and shadow may have been suggested by Plutarch: 'Frankness, therefore, should be combined with good manners, and there should be reason in it to take away its excess and intensity, which may be compared to that of light, so that any who are exposed to it shall not, for being disturbed and distressed by those who find fault with everything and accuse every one, take refuge in the shadow of the flatterer, and turn away towards what does not cause pain' (*How to Tell a Flatterer*, 66b, p. 351).
50. *How a Man May Become Aware of His Progress in Virtue*, p. 423. This passage is echoed in an important work of St Basil: 'For just as bees know how to extract honey from flowers, which to men are agreeable only for their fragrance and color, even so here also those who look for something more than pleasure and enjoyment in such writers may derive profit for their souls. Now, then, altogether after the manner of bees must we use these writings, for the bees do not visit all the flowers without discrimination, nor indeed do they seek to carry away entire those upon which they light, but rather, having taken so much as is adapted to their needs, they let the rest go. So we, if wise, shall take from heathen books whatever befits us and is allied to the truth, and shall pass over the rest. And just as in culling roses we avoid the thorns, from such writings as these we will gather everything useful, and guard against the noxious. So, from the very beginning, we must examine each of their teachings, to harmonize it with our ultimate purpose, according to the Doric proverb, "testing each stone by the measuring-line"' (*On the Right Use of Greek Literature*, IV). Plutarch resorted to the image of the bee in another significant passage: 'Again, boys may be instructed, by reading the poets as they ought, to draw something that is useful and profitable even from those passages that are most suspected as wicked and absurd; as the bee is taught by Nature to gather the sweetest and most pleasant honey from the harshest flowers and sharpest thorns' (*How a Young Man Should Study Poetry*, 32e-f). See E. Kerr Borthwick, 'Bee Imagery in Plutarch', *Classical Quarterly*, 41 (1991), 560–62.
51. The letter on imitation presents other significant similarities with the *De profectu*, among them the word 'profectus' in the concluding paragraph and, just before that, a significant mention of shadows: 'At quorum adulta est aetas et firmiores lacerti, ii iam prodeant ex umbra, prosiliant in campum, iam cum ipso lanista contendant a quo olim solebant dictata accipere, suasque cum eo vires expendant, nec cedant, sed contra potius adsurgant periculum facturi, an ipsi possint ordinem ducere et suo Marte de gradu adversarium deicere' (28) [But let those who are grown up and have more well-knit sinews now come out of the shadows; let them now rush onto the field; let them now contend with their trainer whose words they previously used to accept and let them measure their own powers by his; and let them not yield, but rather rise up and, threatening danger, see if they themselves can become centurions and cast down their opponent from his rank with their own martial valour, *Ciceronian Controversies,* p. 179]. The martial tone itself of this passage is reminiscent of the incipit of the *De profectu*.
52. *How a Man May Become Aware of His Progress in Virtue*, p. 449.
53. Interestingly, Calcagnini rejects the Aristotelian interpretation of wonder as a way to philosophy (*Metaphysics*, I. 2) and views it as the anti-philosophical attitude par excellence.

CHAPTER 4

❖

Literary Texts and Michelangelo's 'Visible Speech' in Vasari's *Lives*

Lina Bolzoni

It is my conviction that, beyond the disciplinary boundaries constructed by academia, literature has a rich and multifarious life in its readers. This essay is dedicated to Hilary Gatti who through her work on Bruno and Shakespeare knows all too well about such a wealth of readerly perspectives. My contribution aims to analyse the ways in which literary texts are used in Vasari's *Lives* and the purposes to which his citational practices are put. In what follows, I set out only some aspects of a broader realm of enquiry, one which would repay further investigation. The analysis offered here is restricted to the final edition of the *Lives* (the Giunta edition of 1568), but future work will need to draw comparisons with the first edition and with Vasari's other writings. Another issue that would merit further enquiry is, moreover, that of Vasari's 'sources', and in particular the forms of mediation — perhaps even ones linked to oral traditions — that enrich his text and his ways of utilizing poets.[I] Let us nonetheless attempt to provide a preliminary mapping of the topic.

1. The *Auctoritas* of Poets: The Creation of the Canon

It is, first and foremost, as a source of *auctoritas* that Vasari uses the words of poets and the Italian literary tradition. Such poets have created a reputation for themselves, and a shared memory, and they act as *auctoritates* even in the field of art. Vasari's own written production reflects the words of the major Italian literary texts, and it is reinforced at various levels by such writings. Let us begin with a central theme, namely the rebirth of the arts, which is, in its originary moment, linked to Giotto. Here, the quotations are highly selective and come from passages which encapsulate the ancient and modern canon. Dante is quoted above all from *Purgatorio* XI, and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* is re-evoked principally from the beginning of canto XXXIII. Vasari enters into close dialogue with these texts, re-reading them and reworking them to suit his own designs and tastes.

Take, for example, the case of Cimabue:

> Fu sotterrato Cimabue in S. Maria del Fiore, con questo epitaffio fattogli da uno de' Nini:
>
> CREDIDIT UT CIMABOS PICTURAE CASTRA TENERE
> SIC TENUIT VIVENS, NUNC TENET ASTRA POLI.

Non lascerò di dire che se alla gloria di Cimabue non avesse contrastato la grandezza di Giotto suo discepolo, sarebbe stata la fama di lui maggiore, come ne dimostra Dante nella sua Comedia, dove, alludendo nell'undecimo canto del Purgatorio alla stessa inscrizzione della sepoltura, disse:

> Credette Cimabue nella pittura
> tener lo campo, et ora ha Giotto il grido,
> sì che la fama di colui oscura. (Vasari, *Le vite*, II, 42–43)

[Cimabue was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore with this epitaph, written for him by one of the Nini family:

> Cimabue believed he held the field in painting,
> and while alive he did; but now the heavenly stars
> are his.

I should not neglect to say that Cimabue's fame would have been even greater had it not competed with that of his disciple Giotto, as Dante demonstrates in his *Comedy* where in the eleventh Canto of *Purgatory*, alluding to the same inscription on the tomb, he states:

> Once Cimabue thought to hold the field
> as painter; Giotto now is all the rage,
> dimming the lustre of the other's fame. (Vasari, *The Lives*, pp. 12–13)]

Dante's lines are called upon in order to authorize and back up Vasari's judgement. At the same time, Dante's source is identified as being the epitaph found on Cimabue's tomb.[2] These are words that are on public display, carved into marble, and available to the eyes of all: the words bestow reputation and create a judgement. It would be interesting to reconstruct the functions and sources of epitaphs in the *Lives*. As regards Cimabue, the epitaph forms a highly authoritative part in the play of interlacing judgements that posterity has constructed through Dante and Vasari.

The canon outlined in *Purgatorio* XI is also quoted in the life of Giotto, where skilful use of *dispositio* and literary memory allows it to be positioned at both the beginning and the close of the argument. We read that Giotto was a close friend of Oderisi da Gubbio,

> eccellente miniatore in que' tempi; il quale, condotto perciò dal Papa, miniò molti libri per la libreria di palazzo, che sono in gran parte oggi consumati dal tempo. E nel mio libro de' disegni antichi sono alcune reliquie di man propria di costui, che invero fu valente uomo, se bene fu molto miglior maestro di lui Franco Bolognese miniatore [...] come si può vedere nel detto libro, dove ho di sua mano disegni di pitture e di minio [...] Di questi due miniatori eccellenti fa menzione Dante nell'undecimo capitolo del Purgatorio, dove si ragiona de' vanagloriosi, con questi versi:
>
> 'Oh,' — dissi a lui — non se' tu Oderigi,
> l'onor d'Agobbio e l'onor di quell'arte
> ch'alluminare è chiamata in Parigi?'
>
> 'Frate,' diss'egli, 'più ridon le carte
> che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese:
> l'onor è tutto suo e mio in parte.' (*Le vite*, II, 105)

[a splendid illuminator of those times, who had, for that reason, been brought to Rome by the pope and who illuminated many books for the palace library which have been, in large measure, destroyed by time. There are a few relics

from his own hand in my book of antique drawings, for in truth he was a worthy man, although Franco Bolognese was an even better illuminator [...] as can be seen from my book, wherein I have drawings made by him for paintings and miniatures [...] Dante mentions these two fine illuminators in the eleventh canto of the *Purgatory*, where he discusses the vainglorious, with these verses:

> 'Oh,' I said, '*you* must be that Oderisi,
> honour of Gubbio, honour of the art
> which men in Paris call "Illuminating".'
>
> 'The pages Franco Bolognese paints,'
> he said, 'my brother, smile more radiantly;
> *his* is the honour now — mine is far less.' (*The Lives*, pp. 23–24)]

Even modern Italian readers with limited literary knowledge recall Dante when the comparison is made between Oderisi and Franco Bolognese. The explicit quotation of the *Comedy* thus comes to seal and confirm a judgement that Vasari passes as if it were his own and which finds confirmation and documentary support in the book of drawings, that valuable collection of 'relics' — the term itself is deeply revealing — that he assembled.[3]

What is more, Dante and Giotto are not only seemingly linked by the way Dante venerates the pairing, but also by personal friendship — something similar to that which Petrarch will celebrate in relation to Simone Martini, the 'mio Simon' [my Simon] of the first of the sonnets on Laura's portrait —,[4] as well as by a deeply shared concern to create images:

> E le storie de l'Apocalisse ch'e' fece in una di dette capelle [a Napoli, a Santa Chiara] furono, per quanto dice, invenzione di Dante, come per avventura furono anco quelle tanto lodate d'Ascesi delle quali si è di sopra abastanza favellato; e se ben Dante in questo tempo era morto, potevano averne avuto, come spesso avviene fra gl'amici, ragionamento. (*Le vite*, II, 108)
>
> [And it is said that the scenes from the Apocalypse, which Giotto did in one of these chapels [in Santa Chiara in Naples], were devised by Dante, just like those in Assisi, which likewise received such high praise and which have already been sufficiently discussed above. And although Dante was already dead by that time, they could have already discussed such matters, as friends often do. (*The Lives*, p. 26)]

One may suspect that Vasari is here projecting into the past forms of collaboration between painters and literary artists which, in the period closer to him, had become a widely diffused practice as regards the *inventio* of iconographical programmes.

The other major poet who is quoted as the originator of a figurative canon is Ariosto. As Vasari puts it in the concluding section of a sequence (to which we will return) on the close relationship between poets and painters over portraits: 'Non fu il medesimo Bellino dal famosissimo Ariosto nel principio del XXXIII canto dell'*Orlando Furioso* fra i migliori pittori della sua età annoverato?' (*Le vite*, III, 439) [Was not Bellini himself named amongst the best painters of his age by the celebrated Ariosto in canto XXXIII of the *Orlando Furioso*?] Here, poetry, the verse of the 'celebrated Ariosto', is (rightly) utilized to denote the stature of a painter who is 'amongst the best [...] of his age'. In a similar vein, Vasari comments on Andrea Mantegna:

Fu Andrea di sì gentili e lodevoli costumi in tutte le sue azioni, che sarà sempre di lui memoria non solo nella sua patria ma in tutto il mondo; onde meritò esser dall'Ariosto celebrato non meno per i suoi gentilissimi costumi che per l'eccellenza della pittura, dove nel principio del XXXIII canto, annoverandolo fra i più illustri pittori de' tempi suoi, dice:

Leonardo, Andrea Mantegna, Gian Bellino. (*Le vite*, III, 555)

[Andrea was so kind and in all his actions so praiseworthy that his memory will always endure, not only in his native city but in the entire world, for he deserved to be celebrated by Ariosto no less for his extremely kind habits than for the excellence of his painting. Hence, in the beginning of Canto XXXIII, Ariosto lists him among the most illustrious painters of his times:

Leonardo, Andrea Mantegna, Gian Bellino. (*The Lives*, pp. 248–49)]

In this instance, his 'extremely kind habits' are praised alongside artistic worth. With reference to Titian, Vasari writes:

> Fece in quel tempo Tiziano amicizia con il divino messer Lodovico Ariosto, e fu da lui conosciuto per eccellentissimo pittore, e celebrato nel suo Orlando Furioso:
>
> ... e Tizian che onora
> non men Cador che quei Venezia e Urbino. (*Le vite*, VI, 159)
>
> [At that time, Titian became friends with the sublime poet Messer Ludovico Ariosto, who recognized him as a splendid painter and celebrated him in the *Orlando Furioso*:
>
> And Titian to whose mastery is due
> such glory that he brings honour to Cador
> as much as they [Sebastiano del Piombo and Raphael]
> honour Venice and Urbino. (*The Lives*, p. 494, adapted)

The capacity of poetry to recognize the value of the artist is aligned with what we might call the topos of personal friendship.

Poetry's ability to weave together friendship, renown, and celebration does not always work perfectly, however. On occasion, we find the odd fissure in the edifice constructed by Vasari, as in the case of Dosso Dossi:

> Quasi ne' medesimi tempi che il Cielo fece dono a Ferrara, anzi al mondo, del divino Lodovico Ariosto, nacque il Dosso pittore nella medesima città, il quale, se bene non fu così raro tra i pittori come l'Ariosto tra i poeti, si portò nondimeno per sì fatta maniera nell'arte, che oltre all'essere state in gran pregio le opere in Ferrara, meritò anco che il dotto poeta, amico e dimestico suo, facesse di lui onorata memoria ne' suoi celebratissimi scritti: onde al nome del Dosso ha dato maggior fama la penna di messer Lodovico che non fecero tutti i pennelli e' colori ch'e' consumò in tutta sua vita. Onde io per me confesso che grandissima ventura è quella di coloro che sono da così grandi uomini celebrati, perché il valor della penna sforza infiniti a dar credenza alle lodi di quelli, ancorché interamente non le meritino. (*Le vite*, IV, 419–20)
>
> [At nearly the same moment that Heaven bestowed on Ferrara, or rather on the whole world, the gift of the divine Lodovico Ariosto, the painter Dosso was born in the same city. Dosso, though he was not as unique amongst painters as Ariosto was amongst poets, nonetheless developed his art in such a way that,

> in addition to his works in Ferrara gaining great acclaim, he was sufficiently worthy for the learned poet Ariosto, his close friend, to make honorable mention of him in his highly celebrated verse. And so, the pen of Ariosto has given greater reputation to Dossi than all the brushes and colours that the artist used up throughout his life. And thus I say that it is a great fortune to be celebrated by such great men, because the power of the pen makes many people lend credence to such praise, even if they do not entirely deserve it.]

This example shows how the power of poetry, its ability to bestow reputation, to persuade (to 'lend credence'), can operate with a degree of dangerous autonomy. One wonders whether Vasari's formulation of this judgement does not bear some traces of Ariosto's own more ironic and unbiased reflections on the complex relationship between feelings, poetry, and truth. One thinks of how the author comments on Sacripante's willingness to believe in Angelica's profession of her virginity: 'Forse era ver, ma non però credibile | a chi del senso suo fosse signore' (*Orlando Furioso*, 1. 56. 1–2) [Perhaps it was true, but it did not seem believable | to anyone who was in command of good sense]; and of what St John says, in the lunar episode, regarding the reliability of poetry: 'gli scrittori amo, e fo il debito mio | ch'al vostro mondo fui scrittore anch'io' (XXXV. 28. 7–8) [I love them [writers], and I do | But pay my debt: I was a writer too].[5]

2. The *Auctoritas* of Poets: *Sententiae*

As the great critic Gianfranco Contini once noted, one of the forms in which the *Comedy* gains almost immediate purchase in the memory of its public is by means of the pithy saying or *sententia*, a fragment of the poem that becomes proverbial and can be reused in a variety of different contexts.[6] We find some vestige of this in Vasari's *Lives*, and it is a feature that involves Petrarch and Ariosto, in addition to Dante.

Dante's *auctoritas* is so strong that it can be invoked through the formula of 'our poet', as in the passage about a tempera panel executed by Giotto on the subject of the Virgin Mary's death. This panel was kept in the Florentine Church of Ognissanti, and Vasari drew attention to it in the first edition of his *Lives*, since the panel had been removed by someone who was perhaps motivated by the lack of attention shown towards it:

> quest'opera dagl'artefici pittori era molto lodata e particolarmente da Michelagnolo Buonarroti [...] questa tavoletta, dico [...] è stata poi levata via da chi che sia, che, forse per amor dell'arte e per pietà, parendogli che fusse poco stimata, si è fatto, come disse il nostro Poeta, spietato. (*Le vite*, II, 114)
>
> [This work has been highly praised by painters, particularly by Michelangelo Buonarroti [...] This little panel [...] was perhaps carried off by someone whose love of art and piety, as our poet remarks, turned ruthless when it seemed to him that the painting was valued too little. (*The Lives*, p. 31)]

The reference is of course to *Paradiso* IV. 103–05: 'come Almeone, che, di ciò pregato | dal padre suo, la propria madre spense, | per non perder pietà si fé spietato' [so Alcmaeon, moved by his father's prayer, | killed his own mother: so as not to fail

| in piety, he was pitilessly cruel (trans. Musa)]. But it is also important to note the implicit pairing of Dante and Michelangelo, a coupling to which we shall shortly return.

As regards Leonardo da Vinci, a sequence from Petrarch is used to illustrate the artist's difficulty in carrying out and bringing to completion the works that he had promised:

> delle cose sue ne son molte rimase imperfette. Ma per il vero si può credere che l'animo suo grandissimo et eccellentissimo per esser troppo volontaroso fusse impedito, e che il voler cercare sempre eccellenza sopra eccellenza e perfezzione sopra perfezzione ne fusse cagione, talché l'opra fusse ritardata dal desio, come disse il nostro Petrarca. (*Le vite*, IV, 27)
>
> [so many of his [...] works remained unfinished. But the truth is that Leonardo's splendid and exceptional mind was hindered by the fact that he was too eager and that his constant search to add excellence to excellence and perfection to perfection was the reason why his work was delayed by his desire, as our Petrarch declares. (*The Lives*, p. 291)]

It is noteworthy that the Petrarchan quotation used by Vasari here comes from the *Triumphi*, and in particular the *Triumphus Cupidinis*, III. 7–9:

> Frate — risposi — e tu sai l'esser mio
> e l'amor del saper che m'ha sì acceso,
> che l'opra è ritardata dal desio.
>
> [Brother — I replied — you know my nature
> and the desire for knowledge that has so inflamed me,
> that carrying out the work is delayed by desire.]

Petrarchan *auctoritas* serves to confer an aura of greatness on the passage, to justify that which might appear to be an unsurmountable defect or deficiency in Leonardo.

The use of Ariosto in a memorably sententious way is also interesting. We find it in the *Vita di Madonna Properzia de' Rossi scultrice bolognese* [The Life of Madonna Properzia de' Rossi, Sculptress from Bologna]. The rhetorical move here is similar to that which we have seen at work in the life of Giotto in relation to the canon of miniaturists. Here, too, a quotation from Ariosto is used implicitly at the beginning, jogs the reader's memory, and becomes explicit at the end. The *incipit* of the life has the tone of a generalizing *sententia*:

> È gran cosa che in tutte quelle virtù et in tutti quelli esercizii ne' quali, in qualunche tempo, hanno voluto le donne intromettersi con qualche studio, elle siano sempre riuscite eccellentissime e più che famose, come con una infinità di esempli agevolmente potrebbe dimostrarsi. (*Le vite*, IV, 399)
>
> [It is extraordinary that in all the skills and pursuits in which women in any period whatever have with some preparation become involved, they have always succeeded most admirably and have become more than famous, as countless examples could easily demonstrate. (*The Lives*, p. 339)]

There then follow several examples of women from antiquity who were celebrated in the sciences and the arts; Vasari then moves on to exalt the new female

protagonists who are so characteristic of the modern era:

> Ma certo in nessun'altra età s'è ciò meglio potuto conoscere che nella nostra, dove le donne hanno acquistato grandissima fama non solamente nello studio delle lettere, com'ha fatto la signora Vittoria del Vasto, la signora Veronica Gambara, la signora Caterina Anguisola, la Schioppa, la Nugarola, madonna Laura Battiferra, e cent'altre sì nella volgare come nella latina e nella greca lingua dottissime, ma eziandio in tutte l'altre facultà. Né si son vergognate, quasi per torci il vanto della superiorità, di mettersi con le tenere e bianchissime mani nelle cose mecaniche [...] (*Le vite*, IV, 400–01)
>
> [But certainly in no other age could this be better recognized than in our own, an age in which women have acquired the greatest fame, not only in the study of letters, as have Signora Vittoria del Vasto, Signora Veronica Gambara, Signora Caterina Anguissola, Schioppa, Nugarola, Madonna Laura Battiferri, and a hundred other extremely learned women, both in the vernacular and in Latin and Greek, but even in all the other branches of learning. They have not been ashamed, as if to wrest us away from boasting of our superiority, to place themselves, with their tender lily-white hands, in the mechanical arts [...] (*The Lives*, p. 340)]

The sculptress Properzia appears at this point as the culminating example of an historical process, of the achievement of equality between the sexes which does not recognize traditional boundaries (such as 'the mechanical arts'). Vasari's portrait of Properzia does not, however, do away with what is intrinsically female: he mentions her great beauty, her 'ready and inventive wit', and her unrequited love, which — unusually — she represents in the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife not as an example of male chastity, nor even of lust and female revenge, but rather from the point of view of an unhappy, rejected woman:

> ella finì, con grandissima maraviglia di tutta Bologna, un leggiadrissimo quadro dove (perciò che in quel tempo la misera donna era innamoratissima d'un bel giovane, il qual pareva che di lei poco si curasse) fece la moglie del maestro di casa del Faraone, che innamoratasi di Giosep, quasi disperata del tanto pregarlo, all'ultimo gli toglie la veste d'attorno con una donnesca grazia, e più che mirabile. Fu questa opera da tutti riputata bellissima, et a lei di gran sodisfazzione, parendole con questa figura del Vecchio Testamento aver isfogato in parte l'ardentissima sua passione. (*Le vite*, IV, 402)
>
> [She completed a most graceful panel, to the greatest amazement of all Bologna — since at the time the poor woman was very much in love with a handsome young man who, it seemed, cared little for her — in which she carved Potiphar's wife who, having fallen in love with Joseph and almost desperate after so many entreaties to him, finally takes off his clothes with a womanly grace that is more than admirable. This sculpture was deemed most beautiful by everyone, and it gave her great satisfaction, since with this figure from the Old Testament she felt she had expressed in part her own most burning passion. (*The Lives*, p. 341)]

Here we are tempted to see in Vasari a particularly strong and ambivalent use of the term *figura*, given that the sculptress projects her own experience onto the Old Testament story, endowing it with form and at the same time contemplating it in the light of her own reliving of the story so that she becomes a 'figural' fulfilment

of the Old Testament story, albeit in a secular key. 'Finalmente', concludes Vasari, after having recalled her copper plate engravings 'alla povera innamorata giovane ogni cosa riuscì perfettissimamente, eccetto il suo infelicissimo amore' (*Le vite*, iv, 403) [In the end, the poor enamoured girl succeeded perfectly at everything except her most unhappy love (*The Lives*, p. 341)].

Vasari recalls other examples of women who have distinguished themselves in the visual arts, and praises Sofonisba Anguissola; he remembers having incorporated one of her drawings into his book and concludes that:

> Possiamo dunque dire col divino Ariosto e con verità che
> Le donne son venute in eccellenza
> di ciascun'arte ov'hanno posto cura. (*Le vite*, iv, 405)
>
> [We can therefore truthfully say along with the divine Ariosto:
> And truly women have excelled indeed
> in every art to which they set their hand. (*The Lives*, pp. 343–44)]

Vasari is here quoting the most 'feminist' exordium of the whole poem:

> Le donne son venute in eccellenza
> di ciascun'arte ove hanno posto cura;
> e qualunque all'istorie abbia avvertenza,
> ne sente ancor la fama non oscura.
> Se 'l mondo n'è gran tempo stato senza,
> non però sempre il mal influsso dura;
> e forse ascosi han lor debiti onori
> l'invidia o il non saper degli scrittori. (xx. 2)
>
> [And truly women have excelled indeed
> in every art to which they set their hand,
> and any who to history pay heed
> their fame will find diffused in every land.
> If in some ages they do not succeed,
> their renaissance is not for ever banned.
> Envy their merits has perhaps concealed
> or unawareness left them unrevealed.][7]

Vasari shows himself to be fully conversant with the *querelle des femmes*, he uses the examples and arguments that had become the stock-in-trade of a now extensive literature, and he concludes by quoting the lines from Ariosto that were echoed in the opening of this biography. The *auctoritates* adduced by Vasari thus correspond not only to the truth but also to the authoritative testimony of the 'divine Ariosto', who had questioned who creates tradition, and who holds the power to 'invent' the past.

3. Portraits: Collaboration and Exchange

As we have seen, a recurrent motif in the *Lives* is the power of literature to keep memories alive, to overcome death and oblivion by creating lasting fame. This is in fact the very first motivation that Vasari gives for writing his work. The cross-fertilization between poetry and painting in the case of portraiture allows this theme to develop and to acquire a form that shows a precise historical

consciousness, a particular sensitivity for newly emerging practices in this sphere. An exemplary, privileged starting-point here is the relationship between Petrarch and Simone Martini, and in particular the two sonnets in the poet's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* that are dedicated to Laura's portrait. The relevant passage is introduced with solemnity and by means of generalizing considerations:

> Felici veramente si possono dire quegl'uomini che sono dalla natura inclinati a quell'arti che possono recar loro non pure onore e utile grandissimo, ma, che è più, fama e nome quasi perpetuo. Più felici poi sono coloro che si portano dalle fasce, oltre a cotale inclinazione, gentilezza e costumi cittadineschi, che gli rendono a tutti gl'uomini gratissimi. Ma più felici di tutti finalmente (parlando degl'artefici) sono quelli che oltre all'avere da natura inclinazione al buono e dalla medesima e dalla educazione costumi nobili, vivono al tempo di qualche famoso scrittore, da cui, per un piccolo ritratto o altra così fatta cortesia delle cose dell'arte, si riporta premio alcuna volta mediante gli loro scritti d'eterno onore e nome. La qual cosa si deve, fra coloro che attendono alle cose del disegno, particolarmente desiderare e cercare dagl'eccellenti pittori, poiché l'opere loro, essendo in superficie e in campo di colore, non possono avere quell'eternità che danno i getti di bronzo e le cose di marmo allo scultore o le fabriche agl'architetti. (*Le vite*, II, 191)
>
> [Truly happy are the men who are by nature inclined to those arts which can bring them not only honour and great profits but, what is more important, fame and an almost everlasting reputation; even happier are those who in addition to this inclination exhibit from infancy a gentility and civility of manners which make them most pleasing to all men. But happiest of all, finally, are those (speaking of artists) who, in addition to having a natural inclination towards the good as well as noble habits resulting from both their nature and education, live in the time of some famous writer from whom, in return for a small portrait or some other kind of gift of an artistic nature, they may on occasion receive, through his writings, the reward of eternal honour and fame. Such a thing should be especially desired and sought after by those most excellent artists who work in the field of design, for their works, being executed upon surfaces within a field of colour, cannot possess the eternal duration that bronze casting and marble objects bring to sculpture or buildings to architects. (*The Lives*, p. 37)]

This passage is notable for the way it reconfigures the question of the relationship between poetry and painting compared to the established view that the power of literature to preserve fame is far greater than that of all the visual arts. It is painting, rather than sculpture or architecture, which displays all its fragility with the passage of time, and which thus needs the support of poetry if it is to construct its own fame. From this perspective, Simone Martini's experience is regarded as being crowned by fortune as well as by virtue:

> Fu dunque quella di Simone grandissima ventura vivere al tempo di messer Francesco Petrarca, e abbattersi a trovare in Avignone alla corte questo amorosissimo poeta desideroso d'avere la imagine di madonna Laura di mano di maestro Simone; perciò che avutala bella come desiderato avea, fece di lui memoria in due sonetti, l'uno de' quali comincia
>
> Per mirar Policleto a prova fiso
> con gl'altri che ebber fama di quell'arte,

e l'altro:

> Quando giunse a Simon l'alto concetto
> ch'a mio nome gli pose in man lo stile,

E invero questi sonetti e l'averne fatto menzione in una delle sue lettere famigliari, nel quinto libro che comincia: 'Non sum nescius',[8] hanno dato più fama alla povera vita di maestro Simone che non hanno fatto né faranno mai tutte l'opere sue, perché elleno hanno a venire, quando che sia, meno, dove gli scritti di tant'uomo viveranno eterni secoli. (*Le vite*, II, 191–92)

[It was thus Simone's greatest good fortune to live in the time of Messer Francis Petrarch and to happen to find this most amorous poet at the court of Avignon, since he was anxious to have a picture of Madonna Laura by the hand of Maestro Simone; for that reason, when he received a painting as beautiful as he had wished, he immortalized Simone in two sonnets, one of which begins in this fashion:

> No matter how hard Polyclitus looked,
> and all the others famous for that art,

while the other begins like this:

> When Simone first received that high idea
> which for my sake he used his drawing pen,

And in truth, these sonnets and the mention made of Simone in one of Petrarch's letters on familiar matters in book five, which begins 'I am not unaware', have given the poor life of Maestro Simone greater fame than all his works did or ever will do, for the time must come, whenever it may be, when they will disappear, while the writings of such a great man will endure for all time. (*The Lives*, pp. 37–38)]

A specific context, made up of features that we find in other passages from the *Lives*, is outlined here in relation to the portrait of the poet's beloved. We see a relationship based on reciprocity: on the one hand a poet who projects his desire upon the image of the beloved (Petrarch is 'this most amorous poet [...] anxious to have a picture of Madonna Laura by the hand of Maestro Simone'), and on the other the painter who knows how to respond to his expectations, because he is able to represent the beauty of the woman ('he received a painting as beautiful as he had wished'). Poetic praise thereby becomes the recompense for an exchange that is profoundly unequal ('in return for a *small* portrait or some other kind of gift of an artistic nature, they may on occasion receive, through his writings, the reward of eternal honour and fame', which is the idea reiterated at the end of the second passage quoted above).

The Petrarchan precedent of Simone Martini is recalled when Vasari discusses the evolving relationship between Giovanni Bellini and Bembo, as well as that between Titian and Della Casa:

> Giovanni dunque ritrasse a messer Pietro Bembo, prima che andasse a star con papa Leone Decimo, una sua innamorata così vivamente che meritò esser da lui, sì come fu Simon Sanese dal primo Petrarca fiorentino, da questo secondo viniziano celebrato nelle sue rime, come in quel sonetto:
>
> > O imagine mia celeste e pura,
>
> dove nel principio del secondo quaternario dice:

Credo che 'l mio Bellin con la figura,

e quel che seguita. E che maggior premio possono gl'artefici nostri disiderare delle lor fatiche che essere dalle penne de' poeti illustri celebrati? Sì com'è anco stato l'eccellentissimo Tiziano dal dottissimo messer Giovanni della Casa, in quel sonetto che comincia:

Ben veggio, Tiziano, in forme nuove,

et in quell'altro:

Son queste, Amor, le vaghe trecce bionde. (*Le vite*, III, 439)

[Giovanni [Bellini] then drew for Messer Pietro Bembo, before he went to reside with Pope Leo X, such a vividly life-like picture of one of his beloveds that, just as Simone [Martini] of Siena was celebrated by the first, Florentine Petrarch, so Bellini deserved to be celebrated by the second, Venetian Petrarch's verse. The Bembo sonnet is the following:

O my pure and celestial image,

and at the beginning of the second quatrain he says:

I believe that my Bellini with the figure,

and the part which follows. And what greater prize can our artists desire for their labours than to be celebrated by the pens of illustrious poets? Just as the most excellent Titian has been celebrated by the most learned Messer Giovanni della Casa, in that sonnet which begins:

Now I see, Titian, in new forms,

and in that other one:

Are these, Love, the delightful blond tresses.]

The Bellini portrait is most probably that of Maria Savorgnan. Bembo makes repeated reference to this portrait in his letters, placing it within an invented game between lovers where the boundaries merge between painted images, those evoked by poetry, and the phantasms that fill dreams and imaginings. 'Your image', Bembo writes in a letter of 20 March 1500, 'I have kissed it a thousand times in your absence, and I ask of it that which I would willingly ask of you, and I see that "Most kindly she appears to hear me speak" more than you do, "if only she could answer what I say!"' ['holla basciata mille volte in vece di voi, e priegola di quello, che io voi volentieri pregherei, e veggo che ella *benignamente assai par che m'ascolte,* più che voi non fate, *se risponder sapesse a' detti miei*'].[9] The portrait of Maria here works as a sort of erotic substitute. And it is notable that Bembo describes the scene to the woman by quoting Petrarch, from the second sonnet on Laura's portrait (*Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, 78, 10–11) where he laments the contrast between the seeming benevolence of the picture and its lifelike appearance, on the one hand, and on the other, the disappointment that arises when it does not come to life, and does not respond to the words and desire of the poet:

benignamente assai par che m'ascolte,
se risponder savesse a' detti miei!

The inserted clause with which Bembo divides the two lines quoted above — 'più che voi non fate' ['more than you do'] — inserts a well-known evocation of Petrarch within the hushed conversation of two lovers, which is enriched in this refined and satisfying way, by the interweaving of art and life.

Bembo's letters to Maria Savorgnan help confirm in many ways the validity of Vasari's depiction of the relationship between poet and painter which develops around portraits. Portraits play an important role in erotic rituals, and represent the impossibility of attempting to reproduce and control life and beauty. The two Petrarchan sonnets on Laura's portrait are truly the archetype of a literary output that was highly influential for more than a century, playing an important role in creating, between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, that moment which Pommier has called the 'glory of the portrait', when literary praise exists alongside an unprecedented diffusion, both qualitative and quantitative, of portraits.[10] Vasari displays here — as we have noted — a strong critical sensibility. It is true that the diptychs by Bembo and Della Casa are part of a kind of micro-genre that harks back to the Petrarchan antecedent. It is also revealing that the coupling of Petrarch and Simone is matched by that of Bembo and Bellini (and later that of Titian and Della Casa): 'sì come fu Simon Sanese dal primo Petrarca fiorentino, da questo secondo viniziano [Bellino fu] celebrato nelle sue rime' (III, 439) [Bellini was celebrated by this second Venetian Petrarch in his verse, as Simone Martini was celebrated by the first Florentine Petrarch]. Bembo here becomes the second Petrarch, not least because he is the protagonist of a kind of *translatio* of the new microgenre to Venice, the very place where, as Vasari reminds us a little earlier, Giovanni Bellini was helping to inaugurate a new, felicitous age of portraiture:

> perché si era dato a far ritratti di naturale, introdusse usanza in quella città che chi era in grado si faceva da lui o da altri ritrarre; onde in tutte le case di Vinezia sono molti ritratti. (*Le vite*, III, 438–39)
>
> [because he had devoted himself to doing portraits in the naturalistic manner, he introduced the custom into that city whereby whoever was able to do so had their portrait done by him or by others; and hence in all the houses in Venice there are many portraits.]

The relationship between poet and painter created through the portrait thus becomes in Vasari's *Lives* a particular instance of poetry's ability to foster renown, to vouchsafe memory; and it owes its particularity to the fact that it is constituted by the exchange between the image and the object of desire.

4. 'Visible speech'

There is one fascinating example in Vasari of how quotation of a literary source functions as an authoritative and memorative hook, and then provides the basis for variation and, to some extent, reversal. The example in question is the life of Buonamico Buffalmacco, portrayed 'come uomo burlevole celebrato da messer Giovanni Boccaccio nel suo Decamerone' (*Le vite*, II, 161) [as a man of playful wit who is celebrated by Giovanni Boccaccio in his *Decameron*]. At one point, there appears on the scene a friend of the painter, Bruno di Giovanni, 'celebrato anch'egli come piacevole uomo dal Boccaccio' (II, 171) [celebrated too as a man of playful wit by Boccaccio]. Both these men — as the tale runs — worked at Pisa in the church of St Paul at Ripa d'Arno, and Bruno painted, for the altar of the convent of Saint Ursula, that female saint with the standard of Pisa. She is presenting it to a woman

who is asking for help, and who represents the city.

> Ma perché nel fare questa opera Bruno si doleva che le figure che in essa faceva non avevano il vivo come quelle di Buonamico, Buonamico, come burlevole, per insegnargli a fare le figure non pur vivaci ma che favellassono, gli fece far alcune parole che uscivano di bocca a quella femina che si raccomanda alla Santa e la risposta della Santa a lei, avendo ciò visto Buonamico nell'opere che aveva fatte nella medesima città Cimabue. La qual cosa, come piacque a Bruno e agl'altri uomini sciocchi di que' tempi, così piace ancor oggi a certi goffi che in ciò sono serviti da artefici plebei come essi sono. E di vero pare gran fatto che da questo principio sia passata in uso una cosa che per burla e non per altro fu fatta fare, conciosiaché anco una gran parte del Camposanto, fatta da lodati maestri, sia piena di questa gofferia. (*Le vite*, II, 171)
>
> [But because in carrying out this work Bruno complained that the figures portrayed in it did not have the lifelike effect of those executed by Buonamico, the latter, who was a bit of a trickster, in order to teach him how to make figures that were not only vivacious but also spoke, made him place some words coming out of the mouth of that woman who was imploring the Saint and the response of the Saint to her. Buonamico had seen this done in the works that Cimabue had executed in that very city. And just as this approach pleased Bruno and the other stupid men of those times, so it pleases still today certain uncouth people who have made use of artists who are as plebeian as they are. And in truth it seems remarkable that from such origins as this a custom has been established for something which started as a joke and nothing else: a large part of the Camposanto, decorated by celebrated masters, is full of such tomfooleries.]

On several occasions Buffalmacco is termed 'burlevole' or a trickster. Boccaccio, and after him Sacchetti, inaugurated this very character type for whom the *burla* is the key feature. But whereas in the novella tradition Bruno features as an accomplice within the 'burla', here he becomes the victim. For our purposes, it is interesting to note that the core of the 'burla' treats a theme that is central to painting and to the competition between words and images, namely the ability to create something that seems to be alive, the power of representational illusionism, the very quality that Pliny, for example, had celebrated in a series of exemplary anecdotes concerning the fierce rivalry between the leading painters of ancient Greece (*Natural History*, XXXVI. 65). Here the competition is between Bruno and Buffalmacco, and the latter, through a malicious piece of trickery, gives a lesson about how to 'create figures that are not only lifelike but speak', a technique that allows him not only to achieve this but to go beyond it. Bruno's intellectual shortcomings are shown by the fact that he takes Buffalmacco literally, thinking that it is sufficient to write words down, to have recourse to *tituli* in order to render life, to attain something similar to what Dante had called 'visibile parlare' [visible speech] (*Purgatorio*, X. 95). We will return to this point shortly. As far as Vasari is concerned, this shortcut to representing life and words in painting, this technical uncouthness that issues from its intellectual counterpart, is something which characterizes in a negative way an age that has not yet known rebirth ('it pleased Bruno and the other stupid men of those times'), i.e. the past. But such features also inform his own age, coupling together artists and patrons in a far from virtuous

chain: 'it pleases even today certain uncouth people who have made use of artists who are as plebeian as they are.' In this way, Vasari adapts to his own critical and polemical ends the Boccaccian theme of the *burla* which Buffalmacco and his friends encapsulate.

The theme of painted words reappears in the life of Buffalmacco and the *Cosmography* in the Camposanto at Pisa which Vasari attributes to him. It is interesting that Vasari also attributes to Buffalmacco the composition and copying out of the sonnet which accompanies this great cosmological scheme. Vasari transcribes the sonnet, and comments:

> Buonamico, per dichiarare la sua storia con versi simili alle pitture di quell'età, scrisse a' piedi in lettere maiuscule di sua mano, come si può anco vedere, questo sonetto; il quale per l'antichità sua e per la semplicità del dire di que' tempi, mi è paruto di mettere in questo luogo, comeché forse, per mio aviso, non sia per molto piacere, se non se forse come cosa che fa fede di quanto sapevano gli uomini di quel secolo. (*Le vite*, II, 172)
>
> [Buonamico, in order to expound his composition with verse similar to the paintings of that time, wrote at the foot of the image, in capital letters in his own hand (as one can still see today) this sonnet, which, because of its antiquity and the simplicity of the language of those times, I have decided to set down here, even though perhaps, to my mind, it will only be pleasing insofar as it pays witness to what men of that century understood.]

Here again, with reference to the sonnet, we find the assessment of the roughness and simplicity noted above, which is attributed above all to the age in which it was composed. To attribute the composition of the sonnet to the painter was a convenient way of dealing with an artistic work in which one could still see the verses. Vasari's judgement is perhaps excessively negative, though we should be grateful to him for having transmitted the text to us. As we now know, the *Cosmography* is by Piero di Puccio, and dates from the end of the fourteenth century; and it is one of the rare cases in which the Latin inscriptions and sonnet itself have been preserved along with the image. The description of the cosmos was a popular theme in preaching, especially amongst Dominican friars, and we are thus able to reconstruct the connections that were established in the public mind, not only between the words heard and the images, but also between such perceptions and the words that one can see. We can appreciate how the message became increasingly complex depending on whether the public was illiterate, whether it knew how to read only in the vernacular, or whether it had knowledge of Latin.[11]

The words that issue from the mouths of the characters, and are inscribed in the *tituli* (the didactic instructions provided in verse), such as those found in the *Cosmography*, are like a rough and simplistic means of giving life to the images, of making them talk. And if all this seems to follow the *burla* celebrated by Boccaccio, we shall see that the ultimate source of inspiration lies in the model offered by Dante.

In the life of the sculptor Pierino da Vinci, Vasari recalls how Luca Martini, after becoming *provveditore* of Pisa, made contact with da Vinci, and, because Martini was writing 'some things on Dante's *Comedy*', suggested that the artist might execute a

work on Count Ugolino, as an example bearing witness to the cruelty of the Pisans. Pierino, Vasari writes:

> messe mano in fare una storia di cera per gettarla di bronzo [...] nella quale fece due de' figliuoli del conte morti, uno in atto di spirare l'anima, uno che vinto dalla fame è presso all'estremo, non pervenuto ancora all'ultimo fiato; il padre in atto pietoso e miserabile, cieco e di dolore pieno va brancolando sopra i miseri corpi de' figliuoli distesi in terra. Non meno in questa opera mostrò il Vinci la virtù del disegno che Dante ne' suoi versi mostrasse il valore della poesia, perché non men compassione muovono in chi riguarda gli atti formati nella cera dallo scultore, che faccino in chi ascolta gli accenti e le parole notate in carta vive da quel poeta. (*Le vite*, v, 234)
>
> [set about making a wax narrative composition which he was to cast in bronze [...] and in this composition he represented two of the dead sons of the Count, one at the moment of death, the other overcome by hunger and in his final moments but not yet having breathed his last. He figured the father in a piteous and miserable state, blind and full of anguish as he went crawling over the pitiful bodies of his sons which were stretched out on the ground. In this work, Vinci demonstrated just as much power in his *disegno* as Dante had shown through poetry in his verse, because the same level of compassion is aroused in the onlooker who sees those attitudes formed in the wax by the sculptor as the emotion aroused in the listener who hears the accents and the living words set down on paper by that poet.]

Inspired by Dante, and by a commentary on his poem, Pierino's work here becomes, in an exemplary fashion, able to go beyond the limits that tradition conventionally assigned to the visual arts according to which only poetry is able to give lifelike expression to interior states. The sculptor and Dante are placed on the same level, because they display to the utmost the potentialities of their respective arts. For Pierino, this is the power of *disegno*; for Dante it is the value of poetry. Evidence for the parallel is provided by the effect that their works generate in the public, the 'compassion' that viewers experience when they look at the work of the sculptor and when they listen to Dante's lines. What is interesting here is that the efficacy of poetry is tied to the reading out loud of the poem. The expressive tools that are effective are, for Piero, the 'attitudes formed in the wax', and for Dante 'the living words set down on paper'. The word 'atto', with its rich connotative field, is of course a term that is dear to Pierino's uncle, Leonardo da Vinci, but it is also Dantean:

> L'angel che venne in terra col decreto
> della molt'anni lacrimata pace,
> ch'aperse il ciel del suo lungo divieto,
> dinanzi a noi pareva sì verace
> quivi *intagliato* in un *atto* soave,
> che non sembiava imagine che tace.
> Giurato si saria ch'el dicesse 'Ave!' (*Purg.*, x. 34–40; my emphasis)
>
> [The angel who came down to announce on earth
> the peace longed for by weeping centuries,
> which broke the ancient ban and opened Heaven,
> appeared before our eyes: a shape alive,

carved in an *attitude* of marble grace,
an effigy that could have spoken words.
One would have sworn that he was saying 'Ave!'
(Trans. Musa)]

However, it was not only the visual arts that were called into the fray to produce lifelike effects in art. The mention of Dante and his 'living words set down on paper', reminds us that Dante staged a memorable competition between word and image in the context of 'visible speech' and divine art in the famous cantos X and XI of *Purgatorio*, the very cantos that were frequently cited by Vasari for their canon of painters. We can turn to the life of Michelangelo for some support for the hypothesis that it is precisely Dante's 'visible speech' which is influential both in Vasari's condemnation of rough approaches such as the inscriptions cited above and in the episode of Pierino da Vinci.

The passage in question concerns the fresco of the *Last Judgement*, and it recalls how Michelangelo, after recovering from injuries suffered after a fall from the scaffolding, completed the work:

> ritornato all'opera, et in quella di continuo lavorando, in pochi mesi a ultima fine la ridusse, dando tanta forza alla pittura di tal opera, che ha verificato il detto di Dante, 'morti li morti, i vivi parean vivi'; e quivi si conosce la miseria dei dannati e l'allegrezza de' beati. (*Le vite*, VI, 70–71)
>
> [After he [...] had returned to the project, working on it continuously, Michelangelo brought it to a conclusion in a few months, giving so much power to the paintings in the work that he attested to the saying of Dante: 'The dead seemed dead, and the living seemed alive.' And this work reveals the misery of the damned and the happiness of the blessed. (*The Lives*, p. 462)]

The quotation from Dante (*Purg.* XII, 64) comes from the final example of pride, that of Troy, sculpted on the floor of the terrace of the proud. The context is that of the cantos in which Dante exalts, in a vertiginously staged *agon* with divine artistry, 'visible speech' (X, 95), that is, the extraordinary illusionistic effect that is created by the relief images on the floor and wall of the terrace of Pride. Michelangelo, who, as Vasari relates, 'attested to the saying of Dante', has to some degree realized this, and has demonstrated its truth and feasibility. As with the examples of pride and humility, the *Last Judgement* is beyond time and history. Like Dante's poetry, Michelangelo's painting is here represented as divine art competing with the utmost possibilities of human art.

A little later in this passage, Vasari writes that the beauty and precision of the figures in the *Last Judgement* are indebted to Dante:

> perché per lui si è fatto studii e fatiche d'ogni sorte, apparendo egualmente per tutta l'opera, come chiaramente e particularmente ancora nella barca di Caronte si dimostra; il quale con attitudine disperata l'anime tirate dai diavoli giù nella barca batte col remo, ad imitazione di quello che espresse il suo famigliarissimo Dante, quando disse:
>
> Caron demonio, con occhi di bragia
> loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie;
> batte col remo qualunque si adagia. (*Le vite*, VI, 72–73)

[In fact, Michelangelo executed studies and exercises of every kind for this painting, which is equally apparent throughout the work, and is also clearly shown in the detail depicting the boat of Charon who, with a frenzied expression, is beating with his oar the souls being dragged down into his boat by the devils, in imitation of the description given by his very favourite poet, Dante, when he declared:

> The devil Charon, with eyes of glowing coals,
> summons them all together with a signal,
> and with an oar he strikes the laggard sinner. (*The Lives*, pp. 463–64)]

Il suo famigliarissimo Dante (literally, 'his most familiar Dante'). Vasari insists upon this theme, even with regard to Michelangelo's own poetry: 'essendosi egli molto dilettato delle lezzioni de' poeti volgari e particolarmente di Dante, che molto lo amirava et imitava ne' concetti e nelle invenzioni' (*Le vite*, VI, 111) ['he took particular delight in reading the vernacular poets, especially Dante, whom he loved and imitated in his conceits and inventions' (*The Lives*, p. 474).]

Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, then, follows the teachings of Dante. Vasari claims that the fresco encompasses all fields of knowledge. Michelangelo — he goes on — has been able to represent all sins,

> per essere stato sempre accorto e savio, et avere visto uomini assai et acquistato quella cognizione, con la pratica del mondo, che fanno i filosofi con la speculazione e per gli scritti. Talché chi giudicioso e nella pittura intendente si trova, vede la terribilità dell'arte, et in quelle figure scorge i pensieri e gli affetti, i quali mai per altro che per lui non furono dipinti. (*Le vite*, VI, 73–74)
>
> [for he was always shrewd, wise, and a great observer of men, who had acquired the same understanding of the world from experience that philosophers acquire through speculation and books. Thus, any person who has good judgement and an understanding of painting will see in this work the awesome power of the art of painting, for Michelangelo's figures reveal thoughts and emotions which were never depicted by anyone else. (*The Lives*, p. 464)]

Thus, Michelangelo overcomes traditional limits, and makes visible 'thoughts and emotions' ('i pensieri e gli affetti') in a quite unprecedented way. Vasari goes on to say:

> E questo nell'arte nostra è quello essempio e quella gran pittura mandata da Dio agli uomini in terra, acciò che veggano come il Fato fa quando gli intelletti dal supremo grado in terra descendono et hanno in essi infusa la grazia e la divinità del sapere. (*Le vite*, VI, 74)
>
> [In our art, this painting is that example and that great picture sent by God to men on earth so that they can see how Fate operates when supreme intellects descend to earth and are infused with grace and the divinity of knowledge. (*The Lives*, p. 465)]

Michelangelo's art is, in this way, the expression of a felicitous moment in history, and its burden of exceptionality corresponds to a divine plan. It is within this context that we can situate the references to Dante, above all to that 'visible speech' that the *Comedy* endowed with a divine significance, and which Michelangelo has 'attested' to by bringing it to earth.

With Michelangelo this chapter comes to an apposite conclusion: in this artist, poetry and painting interact in a miraculous way, not least because his painting fulfils the prophecy about 'visible speech' found in Dante, and makes visible on earth an art that is divine.

Translated by Simon Gilson

Notes to Chapter 4

1. The critical bibliography on Vasari is very rich indeed, but the subject of this essay would only seem to have been handled in passing, and in relation to particular cases. Amongst the most important contributions are: Svetlana Leontief Alpers, '*Ekphrasis* and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's *Lives*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23 (1960), 190–215; Paola Barocchi, *Studi vasariani* (Turin: Einaudi, 1984); Laura Riccò, 'Tipologia novellistica degli artisti vasariani', in *Giorgio Vasari tra decorazione ambientale e storiografia artistica*, ed. by Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1985), pp. 95–116; Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Mario Pozzi and Enrico Mattioda, *Giorgio Vasari storico e critico* (Florence: Olschki, 2006). Quotations from the *Vite* are from Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini, *commento secolare* by Paola Barocchi, 6 vols (Florence: Sansoni, vol. 1, 1966; vol. 2, 1967; vol. 3, 1971; Florence: SPES, vol. 4, 1976; vol. 5, 1984; vol. 6, 1987). For the English version I have used *The Lives of the Artists*, ed. and trans. by Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), with occasional modifications; the translator provided his own translation for the chapters not covered by the Bondanella edition.
2. On Vasari's sources, see Massimiliano Corrado,'Lettori cinquecenteschi dell'*Ottimo Commento* alla *Commedia* (Giambullari, Gelli, Vasari, Borghini, Salviati, Piero del Nero)', *Rivista di studi danteschi*, 8 (2008), 394–409. I am grateful to Simon Gilson for this reference.
3. See Licia Ragghianti Collobi, *Il libro de' disegni del Vasari* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1974).
4. Petrarch, *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, 77. See Lina Bolzoni, *Poesia e ritratto nel Rinascimento*, texts ed. by Federica Pich (Rome–Bari: Laterza, 2008), p. 11, and *Il cuore di cristallo. Ragionamenti d'amore, poesia e ritratto nel Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 2010), pp. 153–57.
5. Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso (The Frenzy of Orlando)*, trans. with an introduction by Barbara Reynolds, 2 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), II, 343.
6. Gianfranco Contini, 'Un'interpretazione di Dante', in *Un'idea di Dante. Saggi danteschi*, 2nd edn (Turin: Einaudi, 1976), pp. 69–111. The essay appeared first in 1956 in *Paragone*.
7. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, I, 613.
8. Vasari here refers to the letter addressed to Guido Sette, in which Giotto and Simone Martini are mentioned: 'duos ego novi pictores egregios, nec formosos: Iottum, florentinum civem, cuius inter modernos fama ingens est, et Simonem Senensem' (*Familiares*, v. 17. 6; 'I know two outstanding painters who were not handsome: Giotto, a Florentine citizen whose reputation is very great among the moderns, and Simone of Siena' — trans. Bernardo).
9. Maria Savorgnan and Pietro Bembo, *Carteggio d'amore (1500–1501)*, ed. by Carlo Dionisotti (Florence: Le Monnier, 1950), p. 52, n. 54.
10. Edouard Pommier, *Il ritratto. Storia e teorie dal Rinascimento all'Età dei lumi* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), ch. 2.
11. See Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini. Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002), pp. 26–29.

CHAPTER 5

❖

Critical Authorities, Canonical Traditions and Occasional Literature: The Case of the Early Modern Italian Academies*

Jane E. Everson

What is occasional literature? How should it be defined? What literary and stylistic qualities is it perceived as having, and are traditional critical ideas of occasional literature valid? What place does the occasional occupy in the literary culture of its times? Does it have any lasting value? Is there a tendency to consider occasional literature as somehow automatically of lesser literary merit, to be left in deserved neglect? Questions of this kind are raised by a considerable number of the items surveyed for inclusion in the Italian Academies database at the British Library.[1] Many of the Academies' publications would normally be classed as occasional pieces: speeches made within an Academy, poems and prose pieces composed for particular events or persons, miscellanies of various kinds, even the publications detailing the foundation of an academy, its rules and regulations, anniversary celebrations, and of course the volumes which publish the mottoes, emblems, and portraits of members of academies.[2] Though occasional literature does not automatically attract critical scorn, the publications of the Academies have often been subject to persistent negative criticism precisely because they have been so often dismissed as merely occasional. They thus raise questions about literary and more broadly cultural authority and innovation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

This tradition of hostile criticism began very early, and can be found even within the period in which the academies particularly flourished.[3] Reinforced in the eighteenth century, its enduring critical influence in modern times can be traced back certainly to De Sanctis, whose negative opinions have continued to be repeated in more recent studies.[4] Gino Benzoni, for example, is deeply scornful of 'le innumeri raccolte miscellanee di "poesie latine e volgari composte da diversi nobilissimi ingegni"' and of 'le silloge celebrative'.[5] Benzoni rightly considers that many of the publications of the Academies must be seen in the context of the

* I should like to thank Stefano Jossa for invaluable help with the translation of the poems and in the preparation of this article; and the editors of the volume for their assistance in revising for publication.

times — the political and social conditions, and especially the role of the various aristocratic and princely courts — but he still views these factors as largely negative. The critical authority still attributed to De Sanctis, together with the long-standing tradition of damning with faint praise the literary output of the academies, makes reassessing this output a challenge, and one that because arduous is rarely attempted. As a result, much occasional literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains outside the literary canon.[6] In what follows, I propose to examine three collections of occasional poetry produced from within the Italian academies, and to suggest not only that a re-evaluation of the place of this poetry in the canon is timely, but also, and more especially, to prompt more extensive critical studies of just what is meant by occasional literature, in general and in any particular time and place, and to posit initial answers to some of the questions raised above.[7]

In a study of the poet Mallarmé, with the interesting title *The Poetics of the Occasion*, Marian Zwerling Sugano ponders some of the problems occasional literature raises.[8] After noting that it is surprising that there is so little constructive criticism on occasional literature, she writes that a history of occasional literature would be 'schizophrenic' since it would need to take account of both 'the body of "serious" poetry written for special occasions such as memorial pieces composed in honor of royalty or aristocratic patrons, sonnets or odes commemorating state occasions or historic events, epithalamiums, funeral elegies and the like [...]' and also 'verse written in a lighter vein, not for the public at large but for a private circle of friends or lovers, a poetry commemorating birthdays, containing invitations, expressing condolences, offering gifts and so on [...]', poetry that is often called 'trivial verse' but which 'has often found its way into anthologies and has been monumentalised along with the rest' (p. 5). Such forms of (occasional) literature are virtually a catalogue of many of the types of literary production favoured by the Academies; indeed, as O. B. Hardison stresses, such pieces were highly valued: 'Poets and critics agreed that literature had an important social mission [...] The occasional forms dealt with contemporary events and living (or recently living) figures.'[9] The importance, for Renaissance culture, of the 'social mission' and the need to address contemporary events in literary pieces cannot be overstated, but literature of this kind fell into disrepute during the eighteenth century, becoming viewed thereafter as 'an inferior mode of literary creation' — a situation which persists to this day, and which is certainly reflected in the traditions of generally hostile criticism which the publications of the Italian Academies have repeatedly attracted.[10]

The difficulties that post-Enlightenment criticism has with the occasional in literature are closely linked to ideas about aesthetics, on the one hand, and about the relationship between all forms of literature and reality, on the other. This latter relationship is, as just suggested, particularly pertinent in the case of occasional pieces from the Renaissance period. Both of these difficulties are addressed (though not resolved) in a passage from Hegel's *Aesthetics* which Zwerling Sugano cites:

> Poetry's living connection with the real world and its occurrences in public and private affairs is revealed most amply in the so-called *pièces d'occasion*. If this description were given a wider sense, we could use it as a name for nearly all poetic works: but if we take it in the proper and narrower sense we have

> to restrict it to productions owing their origin to some single present event and expressly devoted to its exaltation, embellishment, commemoration, etc. But by such entanglement with life poetry seems again to fall into a position of dependence, and for this reason it has often been proposed to assign to the whole sphere of *pièces d'occasion* an inferior value although to some extent, especially in lyric poetry, the most famous works belong to this class.[11]

Commenting on the passage, Zwerling Sugano writes: 'Hegel's seesawing discourse is indicative of the kind of difficulties one encounters in trying to situate the occasional poem in critical discourse [...] And finally, as to value, the occasional poem would seem in some sense to evidence both poetry's greatest potential and its most inferior productions, its most famous works and its moments least worthy of inscription' (p. 3).[12]

How occasional literature is judged turns, therefore, partly at least on the reader's understanding not only of the social context in which it was produced, but also of the aims and purposes of literature generally in the period, as well as the objectives of any particular piece of literature. It is also essential to try to establish criteria for judging the occasional in literature which do not start from preconceived ideas or prejudices. It raises pre-eminently the question that should be regularly asked of literary traditions and established canons: on whose authority? And for how long should an authoritative voice and critical tradition go unchallenged?

One of the fundamental issues here, it seems to me, is the question of terminology. Occasional literature is seen as akin to ephemeral, and thus by definition of no lasting value. But if we briefly move from literature to the decorative arts, and consider the use of the word occasional in that field, it bears a somewhat different and more positive connotation. The term 'occasional table' for example is defined as 'applied to any small, easily movable table';[13] the emphasis falls therefore on dimension and usefulness, not on ephemerality or lack of value. Occasional tables are, after all, as long-lasting potentially as any other kind of table; and their beauty and attractiveness, their aesthetic value is not related to their size or function. They may also demonstrate innovations in fashion and are naturally linked to traditions of craftsmanship on which they build. In what follows, I suggest that we apply these three categories — of beauty (that is the value of the piece in aesthetic, stylistic and literary terms); purpose (does it achieve what it sets out to do?); and lasting quality (is the piece of literature still interesting to read today?) — to some of the occasional poetry produced within the Italian Academies. I propose to examine firstly an anthology published by an academy containing poems written not necessarily by members of that (or any) academy, and then two volumes precisely produced by members of an academy for that academy, the Accademia dei Gelati.[14]

Before examining some of the poems in these anthologies, it is necessary to open a brief parenthesis. A discussion of the aesthetic merits of lyric poetry in this period, whether in general or in particular instances, cannot avoid some consideration of the developments of the Petrarchan tradition in the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, the degrees of respect or antipathy, imitation or experimental variation that are variously manifested by poets of the period. By the early seventeenth century the tensions between the mainstream Petrarchan lyric tradition centred on love poetry and the possibility, even the need, to introduce adaptations of that

tradition, to fit a different contemporary cultural climate are clearly evident.[15] Poets and literary critics of the time reveal the conflict inherent in attempting to respect the long-standing and authoritative literary and linguistic model laid down by Bembo while also reflecting a different moral, social and linguistic climate.[16] The exclusive concentration of Petrarchan lyric on the theme of love is particularly problematic, yet not to write about love in lyric poetry could mean setting oneself against, and possibly outside, any recognized canon of poetry. Certainly modern critics have tended to judge the poetry of this period according to the extent to which it exemplifies successful imitation of Petrarch and of Bembo's interpretations of Petrarch's lyrics, to judge the poems solely by a particular literary model. But, as more perceptive critics, such as Amedeo Quondam, point out, Petrarchism is more than just a literary and aesthetic tradition. It is intimately linked to the social function of poetry already alluded to, and to the expectation that those who occupy a certain position in society necessarily become practitioners of lyric, and thus of largely occasional poetry.[17]

Any re-evaluation of the occasional poetry produced within the academies has to take into account this social function alongside any assessment of aesthetic value. Academy members were predominantly if not exclusively 'gentiluomini', fully aware of, and dedicated to enhancing their social and cultural standing. Similarly any assessment must consider both the usefulness to poets of continuing to use a shared literary and linguistic poetic tradition, that of Petrarchism, and the nature and cause of any adaptation or departure from that model.[18]

In 1565 Dionigi Atanagi edited and had printed an anthology of poems by various authors: *De le rime di diuersi nobili poeti toscani, raccolte da M. Dionigi Atanagi, libro primo [-secondo].*[19] At first glance the title of the volume itself is perhaps suggestive of 'an inferior mode of literary creation' — the authors may be defined as 'nobili poeti toscani', but titles of this kind — *Rime di diversi, Rime diverse* — are extremely common in this period.[20] Indeed we are confronted with a further problem surrounding the occasional in literature: namely, are anthologies by definition *pièces d'occasion*, in which the anthologizer is the judge of aesthetic and literary value? If so, what Hegel terms 'the living connection with the real world' becomes even more prominent, indeed crucial, since the judgements of the anthologizer will have been conditioned by a whole range of political, social and personal relationships, experiences and aspirations.[21] An anthology such as that of Atanagi may be produced to please a patron, advance the editor's own career or as a normal part of social interaction, as indicated by Hardison's comment above. Certainly the two parts of the anthology do include many poems written for specific occasions, which are additionally glossed in the index by Atanagi as editor of the volume. There are poems on the death of eminent personages, recording political events, births and marriages, as well as many poetic exchanges between the poets anthologized, pieces which may seem like practice exercises (and thus functional), or as ephemeral as exchanges on modern social media nowadays.[22] In short, there are poems in all of the categories outlined above by Zwerling Sugano.

Nevertheless, we should not overlook the poets defined as 'nobili poeti toscani' in the assessment of the poetic value of this anthology and its contents. Annibale

Caro, Francesco Maria Molza, Giovanni della Casa, Bernardo and Torquato Tasso, Claudio Tolomei and Gian Giorgio Trissino are poets who remain important figures in the literary canon of the Italian sixteenth century. Yet many of the pieces by these poets collected here by Atanagi are precisely occasional, that is related to particular occasions.[23] Do the occasional pieces of such poets achieve the necessary norms of beauty and lasting value, reaching beyond the functionality of the (then) present moment? Or is it that these poems are found acceptable within a literary tradition because they were penned by poets who form part of the authoritative literary canon as a result of their other compositions?

Poetry on and for political events is nowadays often dismissed as almost worthless. Certainly much of the occasional verse produced to order by the British poet laureates does not achieve a distinctive poetic quality, as if these poets feel constrained by the very occasion for which they must (as opposed to choose to — an important distinction) write and the infrequency with which he/she pens such verses. Paradoxically, therefore, one might posit that the more frequently a poet pens occasional verses, the more often such verses arise as a natural part of social and cultural intercourse rather than from an official command, the more likely he/she is to create a piece of literary and stylistic interest, a poem both beautiful and enduring. The poems of Annibal Caro and Francesco Maria Molza on the presence of the Emperor Charles V in Italy in the 1530s certainly bear comparison with poems by the same writers which are not linked to particular occasions. Though the Petrarchan echoes in Molza's poem are clear, the poem does not merely record the achievements of the Emperor, but develops rather the emphasis on the city of Rome, and reflects subtly on the recent disasters of the Sack of Rome in 1527 and the ongoing wars of Italy.[24]

Alma real che le gran membra sparte
de la città contempli; ove natura
piacque a se stessa sì fuor di misura,
ché stanche fien di ciò sempre le carte;
et hor questa lodando, hor quella parte
il fior ne scegli con mirabil cura;
et l'alta reverentia, ch'anchor dura,
in sen ti rechi del figliuol di Marte.
Ben puoi tu dire: 'O nobil pellegrina',[25]
(veggendo volto ogni suo pregio in polve
et sparso il nido già sì spesso, e intero)
'Qual fato reo il nostro mal destina,
et l'ordin tanto indegnamente volve?
degno eri pur di queste mani impero.'
(Atanagi, *Rime*, I, c. 64[v])

[O royal soul, you now contemplate the great and scattered ruins of the city, where Nature pleased herself so beyond measure that it will ever wear out the pens of men. And praising now this and now that part, you choose the flower of her with wondrous care; and you gather in your bosom the sublime reverence of the son of Mars which still lingers on. Well may you say: 'O noble pilgrim soul' — (seeing all her worth turned into dust and the nest once so fertile and complete scattered abroad), 'what evil destiny determines our hurt and upturns

> the order of things so unworthily? You were worthy to be part of the empire of these hands.']

How much a poet felt constrained (even if not required) to pen verses in celebration of a major political figure is difficult to calculate without extraneous evidence, though it is worth noting, as Zwerling Sugano points out,[26] that, when considering the occasional literature of the Renaissance, it is vital to keep in mind 'the essentially political character of patronage as an institution' defined as 'the single most important aspect of Renaissance poetry' (p. 6).[27] In Molza's case, it may have seemed prudent to celebrate Charles V. It seems much less likely, though, that Benedetto Guidi had any obligation to praise Elizabeth I as he does in the poem written on the occasion of Elizabeth's accession in 1558 and while he was in London:

> 'Mentre, Tamigi mio, gli augei del sole
> scherzan dintorno a' pargoletti allori;
> vesti le rive tue d'herbette et fiori;
> et fermati ad udir le mie parole.
> Ricche piagge superbe, al mondo sole,
> spirate pretiosi arabi odori;
> hor che le dotte muse, e i santi amori
> piglian rose da voi, gigli et viole.
> Ecco che 'l Thebro et l'Arno e 'l Re de' fiumi
> voltano il corso ad honorar intenti
> con dolce mormorio l'Anglico seno.'
> Così disse Londin, fissando i lumi
> ne la grande ISABELLA onde 'l terreno,
> et l'aura, et l'acqua, e 'l ciel dier grati accenti.
> (Atanagi, *Rime*, I, c. 24[r])

> ['While, o my Thames, the sunbirds frolic around the young laurels, clothe your banks in new grass and flowers, and pause to hear my words. Rich and proud slopes, alone in all the world, exhale precious perfumes of Arabia, now that the learned Muses and holy Loves pluck from you roses, lilies and violets. Lo, now the Tiber, the Arno and the King of Rivers [the Po] bend their course, aiming to honour with gentle murmurings the English river ['seno' literally = 'bosom' or 'bay'].' Thus spoke London, fixing her eyes on great Elizabeth, to which responding earth and air, water and the skies replied in pleasant tones.]

Cast in the form of a speech by London to the Thames, Guidi's poem adapts the Petrarchan tropes of a sympathetic landscape called on to witness the praise of the beloved, and transforms the poet's voice into that of the river; while the homage from Italy (that is from the Italian poet) is neatly conveyed through the homage expressed by the Tiber, Arno and Po, and the Italianate form of the queen's name.[28]

The births, marriages and deaths of rulers naturally call forth poems of celebration or lament. Claudio Tolomei writes in praise of Marguerite de Valois, and of Catherine de Médicis,[29] while the birth of a Gonzaga prince in Mantua elicits from Torquato Tasso these beautiful lines:

> Veggio tenera pianta in su le sponde
> pur hor nata del Mincio, a cui dal cielo
> benigno arride il gran signor di Delo,
> et larga il suo favor Venere infonde.

L'aure, et l'acque havrà questa ogn'hor seconde,
lunge andranno da lei le nevi e 'l gielo,
talché nel su' odorato, et verde stelo
nudrirà sempre più bei fiori et fronde.
Nido securo havran canori cigni
tra' rami; et sua dolce ombra albergo fermo
fia de le muse erranti al nobil choro.
Né temer dee ch'augei strani et maligni
osin mai di rapirle il suo thesoro
ch'è l'aquila regal pronta al suo schermo.
(Atanagi, *Rime*, I, c. 188[v])

[I see a tender shoot just now sprung upon the banks of the Mincio, on which the great Lord of Delos kindly smiles down from heaven, and Venus generously pours out her favours upon it. At every hour it will have winds and waters favourable to it, far from it will flee the snows and frost, so that on its fragrant and green stock it will bear ever more beautiful flowers and leaves. The snow-white swans will have a secure nest among the branches and her gentle shade will be a settled home to the wandering choir of the Muses. Nor must it fear that strange and wicked birds will ever dare to steal away its treasure, for the royal eagle is ready to provide protection.]

Tasso's lyrics, indeed, often take up even very small and ephemeral experiences as the occasion for poems, and the results are frequently both moving and beautiful. So, contemplating the death of a little bird, and drawing on the model of Catullus, Tasso writes the eminently occasional sonnet:[30]

Vago augellin, che chiuso in bel soggiorno
col suon l'aria addolcivi; onde talhora
sol per udirti la vermiglia Aurora
più veloce affrettava il suo ritorno;
se per l'ombre, che mai non sface il giorno
muto hor camini et temi, et tremi, allhora
che' feri mostri, e i volti, cui scolora
pallida morte, scorgi a te dintorno;
vattene pur sicuro, et fa che s'oda
qual suol tuo dolce canto; et così l'ira
perderan quei, che Dite in grembo tiene.
Indi giunto ne' prati, et ne l'amene
Elisie valli, a la famosa lira
d'Alceo la lingua in chiari accenti snoda.
(Atanagi, *Rime*, I, c. 187[v])

[Pretty little bird, that closed in a beautiful abode sweetened the air with music, hence sometimes the russet Dawn hastened her return more swiftly just to hear you; if now, among the shadows that daylight never illumines, silent you walk, in fear and trembling, then, when you spy around you fearsome monsters and faces which pale Death discolours, go forward still in safety, and cause your sweet song to be heard as was your wont, and so those whom Dis holds in his lap will drop their anger.

Then having come in to the meadows and the pleasant Elysian valleys, unlock your tongue, singing in clear tones to Alcaeus's famous lyre.]

Tasso's poem is an instance of what might be termed 'mediated occasionality', that is the occasion which inspires the poem is a reading of, or reflection on an occasional poem of an earlier poet. It is predominantly a literary exercise, not a social one. It is thus a striking example of the fallacy of equating occasional, as a literary term, with lightweight and superficial.

The above poems, though undoubtedly occasional, were not specifically written for academies, nor necessarily conceived for publication by them. Throughout the anthology, however, are scattered poems which were specifically composed for a particular academy on a particular occasion, and often by the poets named above. Thus Atanagi groups, alongside Tolomei's other compositions, the three poems Tolomei wrote for the Accademia della Virtù in Rome, and which were read to the academicians at a precise date, in a particular gathering of the academy. The first of these indeed acts almost like a motto in verse, or a prayer for divine favour for the academy:

O bella Dea, che da' celesti giri
discesa in terra sei spinta d'amore;
che gli spiriti eletti infiammi, e inspiri
e vesti 'l mondo di novel colore;[31]
empi di santi affetti, e bei desiri
a questa schiera Virtuosa il core
sì ch'alzando le basse e stanche penne
al ciel voli per gloria, ond'ella venne.

(Atanagi, *Rime*, I, c. 43^{v})

[O lovely Goddess, you who have descended to earth from the celestial spheres, driven by love, you who inflame and inspire the elect spirits of men and clothe the world in new colours, fill with holy affection and fair desires the hearts of this Virtuous throng, so that, lifting their humble and weary wings, these hearts may fly up to heaven through glory, whence you came.]

Tolomei was one of the founders of the Accademia della Virtù,[32] so perhaps an element of self-promotion or self-praise is contained in his short and well-crafted *ottava*. Sperone Speroni adopts a much more apparently modest tone, in his celebration of the Accademia Vaticana, also in Atanagi's anthology:

Schiera gentil, che l'alto Vaticano
onde humilmente il tuo gran nome prendi
con sì chiaro valore orni, et difendi;
che invidia tenta homai d'armarsi in vano;
tu d'ogni studio tuo sacro et humano
giusta ragione al cielo, e al mondo rendi;
tu sola forse, intentamente attendi
l'ombre lasciando, al vero honor sovrano.
Io, che sì poco amar solea me stesso,
et troppo altrui, io tuo padre in etade,
ma nell'opre, et ne' premii inutil servo
sempre t'adorerò, come dapresso
già t'inchinai, che la vita che cade
seco non trahe l'eterno, ove io ti servo.

(Atanagi, *Rime*, II, c. 6^{v})

> [O noble throng, you who adorn and defend with such shining valour, the lofty Vatican, from which you humbly take your great name, and against whom envy strives now in vain to take up arms — you render just account to heaven and earth of your every sacred and human pursuit, you alone perhaps intently attend upon true sovereign honour, leaving the shadows behind. I who was used so little to love myself, and others too much, I, your father in age, but in works and worth a useless servant, will forever adore you, as once I bowed before you, for life which fades does not confer the eternal, where I serve you.]

Atanagi himself enters into a more elaborate play on words in his celebration of the Accademia dello Sdegno:

> O di leggiadro SDEGNO anime accese
> c'hoggi raccolte in bella, et dotta schiera
> dritto poggiate a quella piaggia altera
> [']v[e] l'alato destrier prima discese;
> se v'accolga là su lieta et cortese
> con l'alme muse la gentil guerrera
> e 'n bagnar voi (come 'l cor brama, et spera)
> sian tutte al fonte d'Hippocrene intese;
> gli occhi volgete al gioven sacro et degno;
> che per appoggio del cadente mondo
> et per rifugio di virtute è nato
> et del suo lume, a cui nullo è secondo
> scorta vi fate; e 'l chiaro vostro SDEGNO
> produrrà tosto effetto alto et lodato.[33]
>
> (Atanagi, *Rime*, I, c. 208[r])

> [O brilliant souls of lighthearted SCORN, who gathered today in a fair and learned throng climb straight up to that lofty plain where the winged steed first alighted, may the noble warlike maiden welcome you there, joyful and courteous, together with the gentle Muses, and may the Muses all be intent to bathe you in the Hippocrene spring. Turn your eyes to the holy and worthy youth who is born as support for a failing world and as a refuge for virtue, and have for yourselves the protection of his light which is above all others, and your bright SCORN will produce soon a noble and praiseworthy result.][34]

The emphasis here is precisely on literary, poetic aspirations and achievements, underlined by the references to Parnassus ('quella piaggia altera') and Pegasus ('l'alato destrier') as well as the Muses and the fount of Hippocrene: in short a highly traditional, and highly literary poem in its reuse of tropes. Indeed Atanagi's volume displays a significant interest in aspects of poetic composition. Poetic exchanges between poets form a notable part of the selection made by Atanagi for his anthology. Such exchanges range from serious discussions of poetic ideas and practices, poetic imitation and emulation, through discussions of personal circumstances, to light-hearted and, as Atanagi defines them, rather scurrilous ripostes about sufferings in love.[35] The poems contained within Atanagi's anthology could be seen, then, in a discussion about literary traditions and authority figures, as aiming to establish for the Academies with which he was connected a tradition of literary endeavour and expertise, both creative and critical, and an assertion of their role, in the culture of the times, as the authoritative voice of poetic composition.

Atanagi's own poem just quoted introduces a type of Academy poem that was to have considerable success later in the century, and is very effectively exemplified in two publications from the Accademia dei Gelati: the *Ricreationi amorose degli Academici Gelati*, of 1590; and the slightly later *Rime degli academici Gelati di Bologna*, of 1597.[36] The *Ricreationi* has attracted considerable critical attention, not least for its engraved illustrations and the information it conveys concerning one of the major Bolognese academies.[37] As its title indicates, it is an anthology of love lyrics penned by various members of the Academy. The initial poem by each member is, however, not always addressed to the lady, but rather exemplifies in words the emblem of the poet illustrated in the engraving placed immediately above it. These initial poems are therefore doubly or even trebly occasional: they exist fundamentally to illustrate further the academy nickname of the writer, and by implication to celebrate the academy and its members; and they exist to introduce the series of love lyrics that follow. Are they therefore only of interest to specialists in emblems, and/or Bolognese academies?[38]

The introductory poems of the *Ricreationi* not surprisingly make frequent play on words in order to associate the individual's nickname and the emblem image. But a number of interesting literary aspects also emerge, in particular the incorporation of classical mythology and classical history, together with variations on Petrarchan topoi.[39] In his proemial poem, Camillo Gessi,[40] l'Intento, plays an elaborate associative game. His emblem image displays a lighthouse on the edge of a stormy sea — but the poem is built around references to the story of Leander swimming the Hellespont to reach Hero.

Non teme d'onde, non di notte oltraggio
un valoroso cuor, ch'amor conduce,
scorto è Leandro d'amorosa luce,
che pe' i guadi del Mar mostra il viaggio.
A me che INTENTO à più fidato raggio,
la splendida virtute è luce, e duce:[41]
s'opponga ombra notturna, e quante induce
procelle il mar, che non torran passaggio.
A quello estinguer può l'eccelsa fiamma,
d'orgoglioso Aquilon, d'Affrico insano
horridda [sic] guerra, ond'Hero in van l'attende.
A me non può: che 'l mio splendor sovrano
ogn'impeto sostiene. E non s'offende,
ma per avversità virtù s'infiamma.
(*Ricreationi*, p. 30)[42]

[A valiant heart that Love leads fears neither the waves nor the assault of night; Leander is guided by love's light which, through the straits of the sea, shows the way. To me INTENT upon a more trustworthy ray, resplendent virtue is light and guide. Let the shades of night oppose me, and however many storms the sea throws up, they will not impede my passing. To him [Leander] the fearsome onslaught of proud Aquilon [North Wind] and of furious Africus [South Wind] can extinguish the lofty flame — and so Hero waits for him in vain. To me this cannot be, for my sovereign light withstands all buffets and is not harmed, but its virtue burns brightly through adversity.]

This is an ambivalent myth to use, since Leander, though initially 'scorto d'amorosa luce', ended by drowning, thus leaving Hero to wait for him in vain ('ond'Hero in van l'attende'). The poem weaves a complex set of associations from the general assertion that nothing can overcome 'un valoroso cuor, ch'amor conduce', through the comparison between the ultimately unfortunate Leander, whose guiding light proved in the end too weak to overcome the onslaughts of winds and sea, and l'Intento himself, guided by 'più fidato raggio', which 'ogni impeto sostiene' and which in addition shines the more brightly the more unfavourable the circumstances. The poem thus also makes a neat association between the guiding light, represented visually by the lighthouse, and the poet's lady, so much more brilliant and dependable as a guide; while subtly the poet suggests that his constancy (he is, after all, 'l'intento') is greater than that of the fabled Leander, since he will not drown in whatever raging seas (i.e. adverse circumstances) separate him from his lady.

Il Tenebroso, the nickname of Francesco Maria Caccianemici, in contrast, pens an emblem poem infused with Platonic ideas and images:

> Chiuso ô 'l mio spirto in TENEBROSO speco
> ove del vero Ben non è la forma;
> ma se v'appar, è solo imago e orma,
> e se voce vi s'ode, è voce d'Eco.
> Al poco ardor (che n'ha ben poco seco)
> la sua virtù fortifica, e riforma:
> che perché al chiaro sol non si conforma,
> no'l soffrirebbe, e rimarebbe cieco.
> E quindi à poco à poco attende, e brama
> uscir di luce in luce, insin ch'al fine
> nell'aprico, dall'ombre, al vero saglia.
> Sì vedrò poi come s'intende e s'ama:
> come han gli humani rai principio e fine
> dallo splendor ch'ogni splendore abbaglia.
>
> (*Ricreationi*, p. 32)

[I have shut up my spirit in a gloomy cave, where there is no Form of the true Good. But if it does appear there, it is only an image and a trace, and if a voice is heard there, it is the voice of Echo. With its little ardour (for it has little in itself) the spirit fortifies and reshapes its virtue which, because it is not used to the bright sunlight, would not suffer it and would remain blind. And so little by little it waits and yearns to come from light into light until in the end it rises from the shadows to the truth in the sunlight. So I shall see then how one comes to knowledge and loves, how human rays have their beginning and end from the splendour which dazzles all other splendours.]

The underlying image is that of the Platonic cave on the walls of which appear the shadows of things, not their reality nor the intrinsic Form. Here the soul (of the poet) is imagined to be enclosed, gathering strength little by little to become able to confront the light — that is to return to life. But, beyond this essentially Platonic metempsychosis, the poem recalls also the Platonic Great Ladder of Being.[43] The soul passes step by step 'dall'ombre' into the sunlight ('nell'aprico') but the goal is to ascend to the Truth ('al vero saglia'), to that light 'ch'ogni splendor abbaglia'. In Platonic terms this light is, of course, that of the divine spirit, the One, but, in an

introductory poem to love lyrics, this is to be interpreted as the poet's lady. Thus in the sestet il Tenebroso mixes in with the Platonic ideas reminiscences of Dante and Petrarch. The penultimate line echoes Dante's idea in *Paradiso* 1 of the creator God as the goal from which and to which all human beings tend,[44] the light beyond all light, and is prompted perhaps by Dante's own original association of Beatrice with increasing brilliance as he ascends through the heavens. The poet is also a sophisticated Petrarchist, using the syntagm 'Sì vedrò poi' in line 12 just as Petrarch does in two famous sonnets (*RVF.* 32. 12 and 34. 12).

Cesare Gessi, l'Improviso, however, prefers to draw on Roman history and symbols to exemplify the aptness of his image, and emphasises, rather than his lady, the academy for which he is writing:

L'hasta, che oprando il martial Quirino
Roma avezzò con le vittorie prime
al dominar; quando le spoglie opime
portò del Ceninese, o del Sabino,
fece (avventata sopra il Palatino)
radici inaspettate, onde al sublime
trasse novello humor dalle parti ime;
e diede l'ombre al vincitor Latino.
Tal'oso anch'io sperar arido e fosco
sugger fecondo humor da verde stelo:
se ben di ciò sembro incapace al tutto.
Ho le radici in agghiacciato bosco;
ma ben (se sia che si disperda il gielo)
IMPROVISO darò le frondi e il frutto.

(*Ricreationi*, p. 50)[45]

[The spear, which in the hands of the warlike Romulus accustomed Rome to domination with his first victories, when he bore the rich spoils of the Caeninenses or the Sabines, put down unexpected roots (hurled over the Palatine) whence it drew new sap to its peak from the lowest parts and gave shade to the Latin conqueror. So I too dare to hope, arid and lifeless, to suck up fertile sap from a green stock, though I seem altogether incapable of that. I have my roots in a frozen wood, but indeed (if it should be that the frost should melt) unexpectedly (IMPROVISO) I will put forth leaves and fruit.]

Melchiorre Zoppio, il Caliginoso,[46] abandons mythology and does not even name himself within his introductory poem, which is clearly directed at praise of his lady — here too associated with light, the light of the sun:

Nube son io, che tempestosa e nera
minaccia dileguarsi in nembo horrendo
ma se il mio sol, con l'aurea luce ardendo
m'irraggia, o in su'l matino, o in su la sera,
viemmi da i rai dell'infiammata sfera
vampa onde honore inusitato apprendo.
Nel proprio horror dell'altrui luce splendo;[47]
sì ch'imito del sol la faccia vera.
Né la beltà che in me raddoppia il suo
sembiante, in lei, quanto in altrui, si mira,

né il mio proprio squallor più si detesta.
Son'io, son quell'in cui si manifesta
donna, il tuo volto. Io son quel che s'ammira;
ma l'horrore è pur mio, l'honore il tuo.
(*Ricreationi*, p. 64)

[I am a cloud, which stormy and black threatens to dissolve in fearful rains, but if my sun, burning with golden light, shines her rays on me, whether in the morning or the evening, there comes to me from the rays of the fiery sphere a flame whence I grasp unwonted honour; in my own gloom I shine with another's light, so that I imitate the true face of the sun. Neither her beauty, which doubles her features in me, is seen as much in her as in another, nor is my own squalor detestable any longer. I am, I am that in which is manifest, Lady, your face. I am that which is admired. But the gloom is all mine, the honour yours.]

The strongly visual comparison, of the dark, threatening rain cloud and the bright sun, is aesthetically pleasing and effective, but I suggest it goes further. There is here an element of early opera and masque, in which natural forces appear in person, and often in contention and contrast as here. The poem is virtually an aria pronounced against a backdrop described rather than seen, but which is nevertheless a clear component of the scene. The continual play on words, between dark and light, bright sunshine and threatening clouds, ugliness and beauty, continue the Petrarchan topoi.[48]

Seven years later, in 1597, the Gelati published a second anthology of ostensibly love lyrics. This second volume contains a collection of verses by various members of the academy, poems which are as much occasional as addressed to each poet's lady.[49] The first by each poet is once again designed to exemplify the emblem image of the academy member. The poems of Lodovico Facchinetti, l'Irrigato, are introduced by this stanza:

LUNGO il rapido corso
d'onde sì dolci e chiare,
PLATANO anco infecondo, hor vo' sperare
crescer sì, che con l'ombra
io porga altrui ristoro;
se non di mirto o alloro
quell'almen, che può dar tronco, ch'ingombra
selva carca di gielo
ch'avida attende più tranquillo 'l cielo.
(*Rime*, p. 110)[50]

[Alongside the swift course of waters so sweet and clear, a Plane tree still infertile, now I will hope to grow such that with my shade I may proffer refreshment to another, if not of myrtle or bay, that at least which a trunk can give which a wood laden with frost encumbers, a wood which eagerly awaits calmer skies.]

Similarly the verses of l'Informe are introduced thus in a poem whose meaning depends on its being read alongside the image which it illustrates (see Figure 5.1), which clarifies the oblique nature of the words:

Fig. 5.1. Image for l'Informe

D'HORRIDO alpestre MONTE
ruvida parte INFORME
cui né d'amor, né d'arte fugiam l'orme,
scorgi, svelta da Ferro,
d'un fermo, alto desire,
che al cangiar forma invita: e s'io non erro,
fia, che spirti d'honor, di virtù spire,
per voi fabbri, ch'in GIELO
sudando, alme faville ergete al cielo. (*Rime*, p. 114)

[You can see a rough and shapeless part hewn from a terrible rocky mountain whose tracks of neither love nor art we shun: it was unearthed by Iron, wielded by a firm and high desire which invites it to change shape; and if I err not, it will surely happen that that fragment will breathe spirits of honour and virtue, thanks to you craftsmen who sweating in Ice raise kindly flames to heaven.]

While Nicolò Strozzi, l'Involto, presents himself even more modestly and succinctly:

Tra questi Arbusti, in questo Rio corrente
m'ascondo, e tergo l'alma
d'impuro ardor, d'ogni più indegna salma
qui pronto a vera fede offro l'ardente
voglia, d'error già sciolta,
con la destra d'Honor da speme INVOLTA.
(*Rime*, p. 130)

[Among these bushes, in this running stream, I hide myself and cleanse my soul of impure ardour, of every unworthy burden. Here readily I offer to true faith my burning desire, freed now from error, with my right hand clad in hope of Honour.]

All three examples certainly illustrate the emblem image and display a clever, even punning sense of wit.[51] They are thus apt and functional, succeeding in a play on words for both the Academy and the individual member. What is most notable in these examples, and in this volume, however, is the change of metrical form, from the sonnets of the earlier collection to the madrigal current here. There is thus a break with tradition, or with several traditions, from the dominant sonnet of Petrarchism, but also from the recent, micro-tradition of the Gelati's own earlier anthology. Although what then follows for each poet is a micro-canzoniere still owing much to Petrarchism, the adoption of the madrigal form, very much a minor metrical form in Petrarch and the Petrarchan tradition hitherto, as the principal metrical choice can be linked to the growing interactions between volumes of *Rime diverse* and volumes of musical settings of lyrics, madrigals in the strictly musical sense. The change of dominant form may also hint at a questioning of the formal tenets of Petrarchan poetry that had prevailed for most of the century, foreshadowing the challenge to that tradition that increasingly characterizes seventeenth-century lyric.[52]

The madrigal form, however, also exemplifies a continuing yet evolving tradition of social verses, verses composed as a natural and expected part of social occasions and social intercourse. Madrigals in this period are pre-eminently envisaged as

being accompanied by music and as performance pieces. By celebrating in verse an academy member's emblem, and by extension the academy itself, and through the recitation of the same in academy gatherings, these madrigals contributed to furthering the intrinsic aims of sociability and 'civil conversazione' that the academies existed to promote. In spite of their apparent light weight in aesthetic and literary terms, these occasional poems acknowledge an awareness of the contemporary cultural milieu and the need to adapt literary tradition to that.[53]

In conclusion I should like to return to some of the points raised in the introduction and consider for each of the three collections surveyed the extent to which they demonstrate the three criteria established: beauty, functionality and lasting interest or worth. As just emphasised, all of the occasional poems examined here served a particular objective, they possessed, in other words, a certain precise purpose — whether the relatively private and restricted one of illustrating an academician's emblem or praising an Academy, or the more public one of praising a patron, carrying out one of the normal functions of a courtier, exchanging social courtesies. All of them therefore exemplify the points made above about the centrality of the political and social in Renaissance poetry. Many of these occasional poems, as I hope I have shown, and as indeed is clear from the names of the 'Academy' poets discussed, are notable for their intrinsic beauty of language and style. Their enduring interest may often lie in the names of the poets themselves, but that is the value judgement that we bring to these poems, based on the notions of post-Renaissance critics. If at the time these poems were thought worth anthologizing in print, it was for what the anthologizer considered to be the contribution to contemporary ideas about lyric poetry and more generally literary forms: their participation in, and reflection of, the continued development of Petrarchism; the incorporation of classical motifs, sources and models; their proto-Baroque delight in word-play, decoration and illusion. It is these supremely literary qualities that should be the focus of modern critical assessment of the occasional poetry of the academies. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries much of the interest in the Accademia dei Gelati has focused on the visual: on the emblems, portraits, and even the building in which the Academy met. In the sixteenth century, however, and for the individual members, I would suggest that it was the words that counted for more, as being produced by them.

Anthologies published by academies did not, of course, establish the tradition of occasional poetry; as Hardison emphasizes, occasional poetry was already a well-established and well-regarded genre in classical times, and had an important political and social role in antiquity as in later periods.[54] That honourable classical tradition was undoubtedly familiar to the academy poets discussed here, and awareness of standing in that tradition gave status and value, in their eyes and those of their contemporaries, to their own occasional poems. As the indexes to Atanagi's anthology reveal, it was almost impossible for poets in this period not to compose occasional poems; to do so would have been to fall short of the expectations of social intercourse, good manners and personal advancement. The inclusion of one's poems within an anthology published by and for an academy contributed to those goals, but had wider mutual benefits. Individuals gained status through membership

of, or association with, an academy, were linked in to a network of fellow poets in a fruitful exchange of ideas and compositions. Academies promoted the composition, public reading and discussion of these poems, and provided a forum for reassessing existing traditions of lyric and experimenting with new developments, as well as, in the case of the printed volumes examined here, contributing to the wider dissemination of such developments. The study of the occasional poetry of the academies contributes also, as has been suggested, to revisiting critical understanding of both Petrarch and Petrarchism. The scorn displayed for occasional poetry is due to Romantic and post-Romantic ideas of individual experience and emotion 'recollected in tranquillity'; but as Quondam asserts, Petrarch too has suffered from that post-Romantic bias in criticism being, as he states, relegated to the margins of the canon, precisely because he had until then been the supreme model of the lyric tradition; and consequently too, Petrarchism was definitively excluded from the post-Romantic literary traditions.[55] A re-reading of the occasional poetry produced by the Academies may thus contribute to rebalancing a literary tradition and revising a literary canon, by repositioning these poetic compositions in the milieu for which they were first composed.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. The Italian Academies database: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/Default.aspx> [accessed 20 September 2013].
2. For this last type see, for example, *Memorie Imprese e Ritratti de' Signori Accademici Gelati di Bologna* (Bologna: Manolessi, 1672). For a small representative sample of other types of miscellany and occasional publications, located in the Italian Academies database, see: *Della nuova scielta di lettere di diversi nobilissimi huomini et eccellent(issi)mi ingegni scritte in diuerse materie; fatta da tutti i libri fin'hora stampati; libro primo [-secondo]. Con un discorso della commodità dello scriuere; di m. Bernardino Pino* (Venice: Aldus Manutius [the Younger], 1574) — a publication of the Accademia degli Infiammati; *Prose vulgari di Monsignor Agostino Mascardi* (Venice: Bartolommeo Fontana, 1630), published for the Accademia degli Umoristi, and the Desiosi; *Prose Degli Accademici Della Fucina Libro Primo, Nel quale si contengono vari Discorsi, Raccolti Dall'Immoto* (Monteleone: Antonio Domenico Ferro, 1667).
3. See for example the satirical comments of Anton Francesco Doni, *La Libraria del Doni fiorentino divisa in tre trattati* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1557). For Doni's ambivalent involvement with the Academies, see *Dissonanze concordi. Temi, questioni e personaggi intorno ad Anton Francesco Doni*, ed. by G. Rizzarelli (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013); G. Masi, 'Coreografie doniane: L'Accademia Pellegrina', in *Cinquecento capriccioso e irregolare. Eresie letterarie nell'Italia del classicismo,* ed. by P. Procaccioli and A. Romano (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1999), pp. 45–86.
4. F. De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. by G. Contini (Turin: UTET, 1968), esp. ch. 12: 'Le accademie sono il semenzaio di lavori simili [i.e. la buffoneria, l'equivoco osceno, lo scherzo grossolano]. Esse rassomigliano quelle liete brigate di buontemponi e fannulloni [...] Sono letterati ed eruditi, in pieno ozio intellettuale, che fanno per sollazzarsi versi e prose sopra i più frivoli argomenti, tanto più ammirati per la vivacità dello spirito e l'eleganza delle forme, quanto la materia più volgare. Strani sono i nomi di queste accademie e di questi accademici, come lo Impastato, il Raggirato, il Propaginato, lo Smarrito ecc. E recitano le loro dicerie, o come dicevano, "cicalate" sull'insalata, sulla torta, sulla ipocondria, inezie laboriose [...] si cantano le cose più volgari e anco più turpi, e spesso con equivoci e allusioni oscene [...]' (p. 435); see also in a later chapter: 'La parola come parola, fine a sé stessa, è il carattere della forma letteraria o accademica [...] Queste [i.e. preziosità e stile fiorito, ovvero "una ostentazione di peregrinità nella sottigliezza del concetto o nel tiro della frase"] sono le due forme della decadenza, di cui si vedono già i vestigi in Pietro Aretino, e che ora tengono il campo nelle accademie letterarie.

Gli accademici s'incensano, si batton le mani, si decretano l'immortalità. Abbiamo gli Ardenti, i Solleciti, gl'Intrepidi, gli Olimpici, i Galeotti, gli Storditi, gl'Insipidi, gli Ottusi, gli Smarriti. Acquistano un'importanza artificiale, molti vi pigliano il battesimo di grandi uomini, come fu Salvini, dotto uomo, ma d'ingegno assai inferiore alla fama. Corona di questa letteratura frivola sono gli acrostici, gl'indovinelli, gli anagrammi e simili giuochi di spiriti oziosi' (ch. 18, p. 649). For the eighteenth century see the comments of G. Baretti, *La frusta letteraria*, ed. by L. Piccioni, 2 vols (Bari: Laterza, 1932).

5. Gino Benzoni, 'Per non smarrire l'identità: l'accademia', in Id., *Gli affanni della cultura. Intellettuali e potere nell'Italia della controriforma e barocca* (Milan: Feltrinelli,1978), pp. 144–99 (pp. 173–74).
6. This is, of course, especially true of lyric poetry penned by women. Just how much poetic composition by women in this period has been excluded from the literary canon until very recently is clear from the seminal studies of Virginia Cox, in particular *The Prodigious Muse. Women's Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2011); and also her *Lyric Poetry by Women of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2013), esp. introduction, pp. 1–70.
7. Some very recent studies are beginning to challenge the automatic assumption that occasional poetry is necessarily of little literary worth; see especially D. Chiodo and R. Sodano, *Le Muse sediziose: un volto ignorato del Petrarchismo* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2012); and the studies of Virginia Cox, for which see above note 6.
8. Marian Zwerling Sugano, *The Poetics of the Occasion. Mallarmé and the Poetry of Circumstance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).
9. O. B. Hardison, Jr, *The Enduring Moment: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), p. 108. For Petrarchism as intimately linked to social intercourse see also G. Ferroni and A. Quondam, *La locuzione artificiosa* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1973).
10. Such hostile criticism is not only found in Italy. As Hardison notes, a similar situation persists for the English literary tradition from the Romantic movement onwards: 'occasional poems were not subjective [i.e. did not deal with the romantic yearnings of the poet, his individual state] [...] since the beginning of the nineteenth century the occasional mode has almost vanished from serious poetry' (*The Enduring Moment*, p. 107).
11. G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics*, trans. by T. M. Knox, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), II, 995–96; see also Zwerling Sugano, p. 2.
12. The ambivalence of Hegel's position on occasional literature noted by Zwerling Sugano is also evident in the views expressed by Benedetto Croce, which oscillate between considering all poetry as necessarily occasional and simultaneously viewing occasional poetry as servile and worthless; see Benedetto Croce, *Pagine sparse* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1919), p. 210.
13. *Penguin Dictionary of the Decorative Arts*, ed. by J. Fleming and H. Honour (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), pp. 771–77, s.v. 'table'.
14. Many of the issues discussed here in relation to occasional poetry and the Academies can equally be applied to the many collections of prose writings also produced by the Academies, whose value is not only or necessarily literary, since they often deal with scientific discoveries and political ideas, but which have similarly been neglected. The *Prose vulgari di Monsignor Agostino Mascardi*, cited above note 2, a work in four parts, the contents of which range from occasional pieces commemorating ecclesiastical celebrations to advice to courtiers and discussions of the role and importance of literature and the humanities in contemporary politics and society, is a case in point.
15. For a discussion of seventeenth-century approaches to and criticism of Petrarchism, see E. Bellini, 'Petrarca e i letterati barberiniani', in *Petrarca in Barocco. Cantieri petrarcheschi. Due seminari romani*, ed. by A. Quondam (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), pp. 167–97; and Clizia Carminati, 'Petrarca nel *Ritratto del sonetto e della canzone* di Federigo Meninni', ibid., pp. 289–312.
16. As Bellini writes: 'a Petrarca non si può rinunciare' but Petrarch is no longer 'modello unico e irripetibile di lingua e di stile; e come tale continuamente da imitare, e, se possibile, da emulare. Non tanto di oscuramento di Petrarca si dovrà parlare, tuttavia, quanto della messa in discussione del modello classicistico architettato dal Bembo nelle *Prose*' ('Petrarca e i letterati', pp. 190–91).

17. 'Mette risolutamente in gioco il soggetto che ne è il protagonista consapevole, anche se non esclusivo: il gentiluomo moderno, tale perché letterato, proprietario di una specifica competenza culturale (saper scrivere oltre a saper parlare, come pure saper fare musica e saper giudicare un'opera d'arte), per stare nella sua società della conversazione con la dovuta grazia. Petrarca diventa il referente primario della seconda natura del moderno gentiluomo, e prima ancora che imitato è memorizzato' (*Petrarca in Barocco*, introduction, pp. xx–xxi); see also the useful comments in *Lirica del Rinascimento*, ed. by R. Gigliucci (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2000).
18. See Quondam's useful comment where he defines Petrarchism as 'pratica ordinaria, codice condiviso, tipologia culturale' and he refers to 'la sua economia comunicativa come luogo universale, in primo luogo in termini di lingua letteraria (eminentemente referenziale e socializzante)' (*Petrarca in Barocco*, p. vii). It is thus a fallacy, as we shall argue further below, to oppose 'literary' to 'occasional' as two incompatible definitions. Poems for real occasions in this period almost by definition apply literary techniques and aim at compositions within, and exemplifiying, a literary, largely Petrarchan tradition.
19. *De le rime di diuersi nobili poeti toscani, raccolte da M. Dionigi Atanagi, libro primo [-secondo]* (Venice: Lodovico Avanzo, 1565); hereafter Atanagi, *Rime*. On Atanagi, see C. Mutini, 'Atanagi, Dionigi', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1962–), IV, 503–06.
20. Entering 'Rime' as a search term in the Italian Academies database currently (as of 17.09.2013), produces 56 volumes which contain this title. Among the best known, and certainly most relevant here, are those printed for the Accademia degli Incogniti: *Rime seconde della signora Laura Terracina e di diversi a lei* (Florence: [Lorenzo Torrentino], 1549); *Quarte Rime della signora Laura Terracina* (Venice: [G. A. Valvassore], 1550); and *Quinte Rime della signora Laura Terracina, detta Phebea, nell'Accademia degli Incogniti* (Venice: [G. A. Valvassore], 1552). Useful comparisons can be made between Atanagi's anthology and the *Rime degli academici eterei dedicate alla serenissima madama Margherita di Valois Duchessa di Savoia*, which appeared just two years later (Padua: n. pub., 1567); there is a modern critical edition of this, edited by G. Auzzas and M. Pastore Stocchi, with an introduction by A. Daniele (Padua: CEDAM, 1995). For the development of anthologies in Italy in this period see F. Tomasi, '"I più vaghi e i più soavi fiori". Alcuni aspetti delle antologie liriche del secondo Cinquecento', in Id., *Studi sulla lirica rinascimentale (1540–1570)* (Rome: Antenore, 2012), pp. 25–94.
21. Anthologies could also have a significant commercial dimension, as Franco Tomasi notes in '"I più vaghi e i più soavi fiori"...'. He comments briefly on Atanagi's anthology, which in his view virtually alone maintained the quality of those edited by Domenichi, Dolce and Ruscelli in the preceding two decades (Tomasi, p. 69 and n. 75 there).
22. See for example in Atanagi's anthology the poem by Cesare Gallo on the marriage of Vittoria Colonna: 'Cinto le tempie intorno' (I, c. 33^{r}); Domenico Venier's exercise poem imitating Dante da Maiano: 'Non po' la forza e la vertù del core' (I, c. 46^{v}) and that by Trissino in imitation of Horace: 'Io son pur giunto al desiato fine' (I, c. 91^{r}); and others cited below.
23. Several of these authors had already appeared in the anthologies printed in the 1540s and 1550s; see Tomasi, '"I più vaghi e i più soavi fiori"...', pp. 42–52. Atanagi's indexes to the two volumes emphasize the occasional nature of the poetry by recording in many instances the precise occasion for which the poem was composed together with a wealth of detail. In addition to the poems discussed more fully below, see for example the poem by Trissino, 'Padre, sotto 'l cui scettro alto riposa' (I, c. 89^{v}), glossed by Atanagi 'A Papa Paolo III quando era per andare, come poi andò, la seconda volta ad abboccarsi con l'Imperador Carlo V a Lucca l'anno 1541', (I, c. Ii2^{r}); and that of Bernardo Tasso 'Gl'incisi marmi, che dopo 'l morire' (I, c. 35^{v}), glossed: 'Al cavalier Sebastiano Gandolfo, secretario prima del Duca di Castro, poi de l'illustrissimo Card. Sant'Angelo, al cui servigio morì, nobile ingegno, et leggiadro scrittore toscano' (I, c. Hh3^{r}). The intensely occasional and social nature of lyric poems in this period is underlined in the modern edition of Torquato Tasso's *Rime*, for which see especially Torquato Tasso, *Rime*, part 3, ed. by F. Gavazzeni and V. Martignone (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2006), Table I, pp. xxxiii–li.
24. In transcribing the poems cited I have retained the original spelling and punctuation, adding only accents where required, and an apostrophe to indicate ellipsis of the article.

25. The punctuation in the original has 'Ben puoi tu dire. O nobil pellegrina ...' Although the modern edition (Serassi, 1808) prints a comma after 'dire', the words 'O nobil pellegrina' seem to introduce a passage of direct speech. The full stop of the sixteenth-century edition cited should therefore be read as a colon, and so I have punctuated here. The addressee here would then be the city of Rome. In the last line of the poem, the speaker (Charles V) would seem to regret his inability to extend his dominion over the city and to protect it at the time of the Sack in 1527.
26. Zwerling Sugano, pp. 6–8.
27. Annibal Caro's poem: 'Carlo Quinto fu questi. A sì gran nome | s'inchini ogni terrena potestate' is less successful aesthetically, but probably better focused on praising the intended recipient; see for example ll. 3–4: 'Ogni historia ne scriva, et ogni etate | sovra d'ogni altro heroe l'honori, et nome.' Atanagi, *Rime,* I, c. 8^{v}.
28. Perhaps the most moving of the poems occasioned by political events, among those collected in Atanagi's anthology, is that of Giovanni Guidiccioni: 'Quella ch'in sen portai scolpita e viva' (*Rime* I, c. 92^{r}) on which Atanagi comments: '[dopo] la lunga et faticosa sua legatione appresso Carlo V Imperatore il quale seguì ne la impresa di Tunisi, et in quella di Provenza, tornato al fine di Spagna, et renduto conto al Papa de la sua amministratione, erasi ridotto al suo Vescovato di Fossombruno [...] ma il molto suo valore non lo lasciò lungamente godere [di ciò] [...] fu mandato Presidente in Romagna. A la qual chiamata dolendosi fece il sonetto' (*Rime*, I, c. Ii2^{v}). Decidedly a 'vita movimentata'.
29. 'Alma real, da le cui luci sante', Atanagi, *Rime*, I, c. 38^{r}, for Marguerite de Valois; and 'Come racchiuso pria novello fiore', ibid., c. 36^{r}, for Catherine de Médicis.
30. Tasso appears to fuse parts of Catullus's two poems about Lesbia's sparrow: 'Passer, deliciae meae puellae' (poem 2), which celebrates the living bird, and 'Lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque' (poem 3), which laments the bird's death. The lines: 'qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum | illud, unde negant redire quemquam' (Catullus, III. 11–12) seem especially to underline Tasso's vision. There are also linguistic echoes in Tasso's poem of both Petrarch *RVF*, 353, 'Vago augelletto' and Bembo, *Rime* IV 'Picciol cantor' and XLVIII 'Solingo augello', but these are poems which contrast the fortunes of bird and poet. Tasso's concentration thematically on the fate of the bird is closer to the Latin poet. The modern critical edition of Tasso's *Rime*, taking into account Tasso's own original ideas of how to organize and publish his copious production of lyrics in four volumes, and the different manuscript witnesses, is in course of publication as vol. IV of the *Edizione nazionale delle Opere di Torquato Tasso*; a useful synthesis of some of the problems and state of progress is in the volume edited by F. Gavazzeni and V. Martignone, pp. ix-xix; see note 23 above.
31. Virtually verbatim borrowing from Petrarch, *RVF*, 9, l. 4: 'Che veste il mondo di novel colore'.
32. As Atanagi carefully notes in his Index, I, c. Hh3^{v}: 'Per l'Accademia de la Virtù, piena de' più rari spiriti d'Europa, de la quale egli fu fondatore'. The other two poems by Tolomei for the Accademia della Virtù are: 'O come Virtute ben posasi in alta colonna' (II, c. 31^{v}) — an elaborate play on the two words 'virtu(te)' and 'colonna' (according to Atanagi's index, the Virtuosi met in the house of the Archbishop Francesco Colonna); and 'Spiriti nobili, che felicemente' (II, c. 31^{r}).
33. Atanagi's commentary on this sonnet, I, c. Ll2^{v}-Ll3^{r}, is a tour de force of occasional prose as praise in the sense expounded by Hardison, but it also neatly exemplifies the interlinking of politics, political eulogy, literature and the arts, and the world of the Academies.
34. The last tercet is unclear. The meaning depends on the interpretation of 'a cui' in v. 12. The literal meaning must be either: 'his light to which no other light is second' or 'the light of his to whom none is second', but the overall meaning of the poem should be as translated here.
35. See for example the exchange between Benedetto Guidi and Atanagi, respectively: 'A voi cui del mio stil la miglior parte' (I, c. 28^{r}) and 'A voi et non a me Guido comparte' (I, c. 236^{v}); or the more scurrilous exchange between Caro and Della Casa: 'Casa, et chi svelle amor, che 'n fertil core | com'hora 'l mio, le sue radici immerga?' (I, c. 2^{v}) and the response from Della Casa: 'Caro, se 'n terren vostro alligna Amore, | sterpalo, mentr'è anchor tenera verga' (I, c. 89^{r}). For the frequency of such poetic exchanges within anthologies, see Tomasi, pp. 44–45.
36. *Ricreationi amorose degli Academici Gelati* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1590); *Rime degli academici*

Gelati di Bologna (Bologna: heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1597). It should be noted that the Accademia dei Gelati had a particularly strong interest in printing works written by members or sponsored by the Academy. In many cases the occasional poetry produced by the academies remained in manuscript, or even as oral performance, and thus had a much more limited circulation. This too has had enduring effects on the sparse representation of such poetry in the recognised literary canon. For the circulation of poetry in manuscript during the sixteenth century, see especially B. Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

37. See A. Gardi, 'Riflessioni sui primi Gelati', in *Un tremore di foglie. Scritti e studi in ricordo di Anna Panicali*, ed. by A. Csillaghy and others, 2 vols (Udine: Forum, 2011), II, 423–34, which includes a useful appendix containing the names of the members together with their academy nicknames. The tradition of describing emblems or *imprese* in verse and publishing both in a collection is evident from the mid-sixteenth century, and was not only a Bolognese phenomenon; see the study by Guido Arbizzoni on the *Rota* of Scipione Ammirato, printed in 1560: G. Arbizzoni, *'Un nodo di parole e di cose.' Storia e fortuna delle imprese* (Rome: Salerno, 2002), esp. ch. 2, 'Imprese e poesia nel *Rota* di Scipione Ammirato', ibid., pp. 37–57. The establishment of the tradition within an academy context may perhaps be attributed to Achille Bocchi and the eponymous Accademia Bocchiana in Bologna, on which see E. See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Bocchi's *Symbolicarum Quaestionum De universo genere quas serio ludebat libri quinque* was printed in Bologna in 1555 by Bocchi's own academy (Novae Academiae Bocchiane).
38. A useful corrective to such a dismissive view is offered by Jeremy Robbins, *Love Poetry of the Literary Academies in the Reigns of Philip IV and Charles II* (London: Tamesis, 1997), who in his study of academy love poetry aims to situate 'poetry produced by academies within the institution which created it, in the belief that once we understand the expectations of those attending such events and hence their priorities in writing poetry we are better placed to appreciate and evaluate that poetry; and to offer a detailed analysis of academy love poetry, considering especially those features, both stylistic and thematic, which are a direct result of being composed to meet the demands of a specific occasion' (pp. 1–2).
39. My chief aim here is not to explore in detail the Petrarchan variations of these poems, but rather to stress their quality as occasional poetry and the extent to which they exemplify the three criteria of beauty, purpose and lasting interest. It is, however, worth recalling, as Quondam does (*Petrarca in Barocco*, p. xxi), that Petrarchan language was deeply, probably subconsciously buried in the minds of sixteenth-century writers; it was an unavoidable mode of expression, what he calls a meta-identity, a natural, necessary aspect of being an educated 'gentiluomo'; see also above note 17. It would thus be odd not to find Petrarchan echoes in these poems. Similarly, the incorporation of classical mythology evident in these poems formed part of the essential 'academy' identity and interests of members of academies. All the emblems to which the poems cited from the volumes of the Accademia dei Gelati are linked can be viewed on the Italian Academies database (see note 1 above), using the individual name or nickname as the search term. Data on Bolognese academies was compiled by Simone Testa.
40. Together with the Facchinetti, the Gessi were the dominant family in the early life of the Accademia dei Gelati. Camillo was a notable figure in Bolognese culture at the turn of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.
41. An unfortunate moment of bathos in an otherwise interesting poem.
42. Words in capitals, in this and all the subsequent citations from the Gelati anthologies, are transcribed from the original publications.
43. As Hardison notes, when discussing the modifications introduced by 'sonnet writers of the sixteenth century': 'Perhaps the most distinctive new feature of their work is their tendency to substitute a Platonic quasi-religion for the earlier Christian framework. The Platonic ladder as described by Bembo in *Il Cortegiano* [IV. chs 66–69] came to be a standard symbol for love's effects.' (*The Enduring Moment*, p. 101). This particular poem therefore both reflects an established tradition and reacts to contemporary ideas about love lyrics.
44. See Dante, *Paradiso*, I. 103–26, and esp. 106–08: 'Qui veggion l'alte creature l'orma | dell'etterno valore, il qual è fine | al quale è fatta la toccata norma.'

45. The literary sophistication of this poem is evident in the reminiscence, in the first quatrain, of Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, I. 9–10 (the narrative of Romulus's rape of the Sabine women); and in the second of the tale of Romulus's spear which grew into a tree on the Palatine, recounted by Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV. 562–64. By a kind of bitter irony Cesare Gessi was well named l'Improviso and celebrated military valour; he was killed in battle in Hungary in 1595 at a still young age, and honoured by his Gelati colleagues with a volume commemorating his funeral obsequies.
46. Melchiorre Zoppio or Zoppi was the founder and central figure of the early Gelati; rather older (aged 36) than most of the early members, he was already lecturer in philosophy at the Bologna Studium in 1590. Gardi suggests that Melchiorre had his first experience of an academy through his father, an experience which also brought him into association with Torquato Tasso: 'il padre Girolamo, a sua volta divenuto famoso e facoltoso quale lettore di filosofia a Macerata, vi aveva creato la prestigiosa accademia dei Catenati (di cui erano stati membri il giovane Melchiorre, principe nel 1575, e Torquato Tasso)' ('Riflessioni', p. 427); Melchiorre would have been 21 in the year in which he first served as prince of an academy.
47. The original has 'splenda' but this is clearly a misprint. For a discussion of Zoppio's poetry which includes consideration of this poem, see Armando Maggi, 'Sensual Lover and the Ficinian Tradition in *Psafone* by Melchiorre Zoppio', *Quaderni di Italianistica*, 18 (1997), 23–34.
48. Zoppi had wide-ranging literary interests, judging by his varied publications, which include volumes on logic, a treatise on love, described by Gardi as being characterized by 'un platonismo con larghe aperture al mondo dei sensi e, di conseguenza, alla filosofia aristotelica' ('Riflessioni', p. 428), and a comedy entitled *Diogene accusato* (1589). The Gelati also, perhaps inevitably, published a work celebrating his marriage.
49. The lady may be real, or as much a mixture of reality and fiction as Laura, but in each case the dominant idea is the interplay of Petrarchan tropes, a game of imitation and contrast.
50. The incorporation of Petrarchan vocabulary here is striking, especially given the brevity of the lyric, with echoes of 'Chiare, fresche e dolci acque' (*RVF*, 126) and 'Rapido fiume' (*RVF*, 208), as is the playful inversion of Petrarchan lines such as: 'Facendomi d'uom vivo un lauro verde | che per fredda stagion foglia non perde' (*RVF*, 23, 39–40).
51. According to Gardi, p. 433, l'Informe was the Academy nickname of Filippo Facchinetti, but the *Memorie dei Gelati* (1672), p. 9, indicates that this was in fact the nickname of his uncle, Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti the elder, briefly in 1591 Pope Innocent IX. All four Facchinetti brothers owed their careers or formation to their uncle. Without his intervention they certainly would have been indeed 'informi'.
52. The *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* of Petrarch contain only four *madrigali*, and while these represent an innovation in Petrarch it would be hard to claim that they exerted much if any influence on sixteenth-century Petrarchan poetry. Bembo's *Rime* also contain a small number of madrigals, of which 'Che ti val saettarmi, s'io già fore' perhaps anticipates some of the Gelati verses in its use of quasi-dialogue form within the short poem. For the interactions of *Rime diverse* and musical settings, see Franco Piperno, '"Sí alte, dolce e musical parole." Petrarca, il Petrarchismo e la committenza madrigalistica del Cinquecento', in *Petrarca in Musica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Arezzo, 18–20 marzo 2004*, ed. by Andrea Chegai and Cecilia Luzzi (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), pp. 321–46. See also note 15 above.
53. It is probably of significance, in the shift towards the madrigal in the second Gelati anthology, that Tasso was both the most important exponent of the madrigal in the later sixteenth century — a form he valued especially for its allusive and elusive nature and its intrinsic links to music — and the most influential literary figure for the early period of the Gelati; see A. Oldcorn, 'The Cinquecento: Lyric Poetry', in *Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. by P. Brand and L. Pertile, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 251–76 (pp. 266–68); and Gardi's comment: 'Se si cerca di valutare i contenuti espressi dalla produzione dei Gelati nella loro fase iniziale, due sono le caratteristiche più immediatamente riscontrabili. La prima è sicuramente la costante stima per la poesia di Torquato Tasso [...]' ('Riflessioni', p. 430), and he notes too the involvement of Tasso with the two Zoppi, father and son, and Tasso's influence on Rodolfo Campeggi and Nicolò Corradini, both notable poets in the Gelati anthologies.
54. Hardison, *The Enduring Moment*, p. 109.
55. 'Petrarca è stato messo al margine del nostro album di famiglia proprio per quello che lungo i

secoli del Classicismo di Antico Regime ha rappresentato: il modello supremo della tradizione. E se Petrarca è stato ridimensionato drasticamente, la tradizione che nel suo nome si è costituita (il Petrarchismo) è stata del tutto liquidata: dal furore ideologico che ha reclamato la definitiva rottura con i miti e i riti della tipologia culturale classicistica (e della sua società di riferimento)' (*Petrarca in Barocco*, pp. xxi–xxii).

CHAPTER 6

❖

Measuring Verse, Measuring Value in English Renaissance Poetry

Stephen Orgel

I propose here a reconsideration of the sixteenth-century debate over quantitative versus accentual poetry in English, focusing on the implied relation between systems of measurement and value. Metrics did matter. If the vernacular was to be a medium for serious literature, if verse was to express and embody the cultural ideals of an England that was thinking of itself as a nation and calling itself an empire, then regularity, adherence to canons of order, was essential to the idea of a poetic orthodoxy. But what kind of regularity: what order was the right order? In hindsight the quantitative schemes look utterly misguided, and it is usual to say now that they were doomed because classical metrics have nothing to do with the rhythms of English, that measurement by stress in English verse is natural to the language, and in an accentual language quantity can never be anything but artificial and imposed. Such a claim begs a number of questions, as appeals to nature invariably do: poetry is artificial to begin with; and Latin too is an accentual language, but the Romans wrote their poetry in Greek metres, and continued to do so for many centuries, out of powerful cultural motives. There was no reason to assume that what worked for the Roman empire would not work for the English.

Indeed, Philip Sidney, who wrote a good deal of quantitative verse, saw nothing about it antithetical to English. In the *Defence of Poesie* (1595) he observes, to begin with, that 'it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet' but rather 'feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with delightful teaching'.[1] Ben Jonson similarly insisted that poetry inhered not in metrics or 'colours' (tropes and figures), but in its 'sense'. He told William Drummond that he therefore wrote all his poems first in prose, and added the metrics later. Not that the metrics were a trifle: he also told Drummond that 'Donne for not keeping of accent deserved hanging'[2] — apparently there was no benefit of clergy in poetic invention, and for all his classical training, Jonson's metrics were firmly accentual. For Sidney, however, what kind of metrics one employed was a matter of indifference: 'of versifying there are two sorts,' he says, 'the one ancient, the other modern.' The ancient was quantitative and unrhymed, the modern accentual and rhymed, and '[which] of these be the most excellent would bear many speeches'. Sidney himself declares no preference, 'there being in either sweetness, and wanting in neither majesty'. The point is, for Sidney, in fact, not to decide between metrical systems, but to insist that 'English, before any

other vulgar language [...], is fit for both sorts'. There then follows a breathtaking dose of phonetic xenophobia from this most cosmopolitan of Elizabethans: Italian has too many vowels for poetry, Dutch too many consonants, French and Spanish have their accents in the wrong places. But 'for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind', English is almost as good as Greek, the benchmark, and 'far beyond the Latin'.[3]

The critic who has written best about the issue of quantitative verse in English is Derek Attridge, who reasonably observes that quantitative poems are most successful when the quantity coincides with the accent — when, that is, you really are not aware that the poem is quantitative.[4] One cannot quarrel with this; but it does underestimate how much in flux English was in the latter half of the sixteenth century, when quantitative poetry did seem like a real possibility. Specifically, it fails to take into account how profoundly diverse regional pronunciation was, and how unstable spelling was. When we say that poetry needs to follow the rhythms of speech, we are thinking of the standardized Oxbridge English of the past hundred and fifty years, the English that Shakespearean actors and the BBC affected throughout the last century. But Walter Ralegh spoke with a West Country accent, and Robert Laneham, to limit the examples only to them, spoke a Midlands dialect, with quite different rhythms and pronunciation from anything we might call 'standard' English in the period, which did not go unremarked in court circles;[5] and Shakespeare would have arrived in London with a similarly noticeable dialect. Ralegh writing for a court audience and Shakespeare writing for the London stage were both writing in a language that was not their own. Thomas Campion in his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602) defends quantitative metres by urging us to pay attention to more than accent and rhyme, to the music of the language, which he identifies with the length of its syllables. But in a language as diverse and as much in flux as early modern English, surely one of the chief attractions of quantitative metres would have been precisely the fact that they were *not* tied to the spoken language.

The other important point, one which is almost impossible for us to relate to, is that Latin was not a foreign language, and was, for the literate classes, ubiquitous. If you were educated, Latin was the language you were educated in; the poetry you read in school and learned by heart and imitated was not the English classics, Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate and Surrey, but Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Martial (and neo-Latin poets such as Mantuan who are essentially unknown today even to classicists). Quantitative metres would have been entirely familiar — one might even say natural — to you. The only problem about writing quantitative poetry in English was the problem of determining quantity, whether a syllable was long or short. For practitioners of the art, this was not a problem with quantitative metres; it was a problem with English.

I focus here on a particular example, a small case study with large implications. In William Byrd's collection of songs for five voices, *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Piety*, published in 1588 by Thomas East, there is a single instance of a quantitative poem set quantitatively. This example is unique in Byrd's vast oeuvre: even when Byrd set Latin quantitative poems, he did not set them quantitatively.

Constant Penelope sends to thee carelesse Ulysses,
Write not againe, but come sweet mate thyselfe to revive me.
Troy we do much envie, we desolate lost ladies of Greece;
Not Priamus, nor yet all Troy can us recompense make.
Oh, that he had when he first took shipping to Lacedaemon,
That adulter I meane, had bene o'rewhelmed with waters:
Then had I not line now all alone, thus quivering for cold,
Nor used this complaint, nor have thought the day to be so long.

Con` stant`| Pe` nel° o°| pe` sends`| to` thee`| care` les[se] ° U°| lyss` es`,
Write` not° a°| gain` but`| come` sweet`| mate` thy`| selfe` to° re°| vive` me`.
Troy` we° do°| much` en`| vie` we`| de` so° late°| lost` la° dies°| of` Greece`;
Not` Pri° am°| us` nor`| yet` all`| Troy` can`| us` re° com`| pense` make`.
Oh`, that° [h]e °| had` when° [h]e °| first` took`| ship` ping`| to` Lao ce°| dae` mon`,
That` a`| dul` ter° I°| meane`, had`| bene` o'er`| whel` med° with°| wa` ters`:
Then` had° I°| not` line`| now` al[l] ° a°| lone`, thus`| quiv`[e°]ring`| for` cold`,
Nor` u° sed`| this` com`| plaint`, nor° [h]ave °| thought` the`| day` to° be°| so` long`.

Fig. 6.1. The text of 'Constant Penelope' with its quantitative scansion. The anomalous metrical feet are underlined.

The song is 'Constant Penelope', a translation of the opening of the first of Ovid's *Heroides*, the epistle from Penelope to the absent Ulysses.

Figure 6.1 shows the poem, with its scansion indicated. This is a case where the quantity and the accent for the most part do not coincide. Reading it aloud quantitatively produces something that does not have the rhythms of English at all. At the same time, however, if the poem is read accentually, it is quite beautiful. As an accentual poem it is not regular, switching from dactylic to iambic and trochaic metres, and mingling lines of five metrical feet with lines of six feet; but it reads like any number of song texts, especially those of John Dowland, which seem to have been composed to follow the music, rather than the other way round. This is one of the poems Attridge criticizes because the quantity does not coincide with the accentuation.[6] But you could also argue that one aspect of the wit of the poem is precisely metrical, in the way it maintains that prosodic counterpoint between accent and quantity — the poem reads quite beautifully, and quite differently, as an accentual poem.

Let us consider the scansion in relation to the musical setting. The rule for quantitative hexameters is that the basic foot is dactylic, a long and two shorts, and that this may be varied by substituting a spondee, two longs, for a dactyl. This substitution may be done anywhere in the poem, with the single exception of the next-to-last foot in the line: the penultimate foot in every line has to be a dactyl. Classical poets occasionally violate this rule (Virgil in the *Aeneid* does so about ten percent of the time, usually to provide special effects that reflect the content of the line), but as we shall see, this poem is working hard to be correct.

But how, if you are writing quantitative verse in English, do you know what a dactyl or a spondee is — how can you tell a long syllable from a short one? In Latin, the answer is simple: a syllable is long if it contains a long vowel or a diphthong,

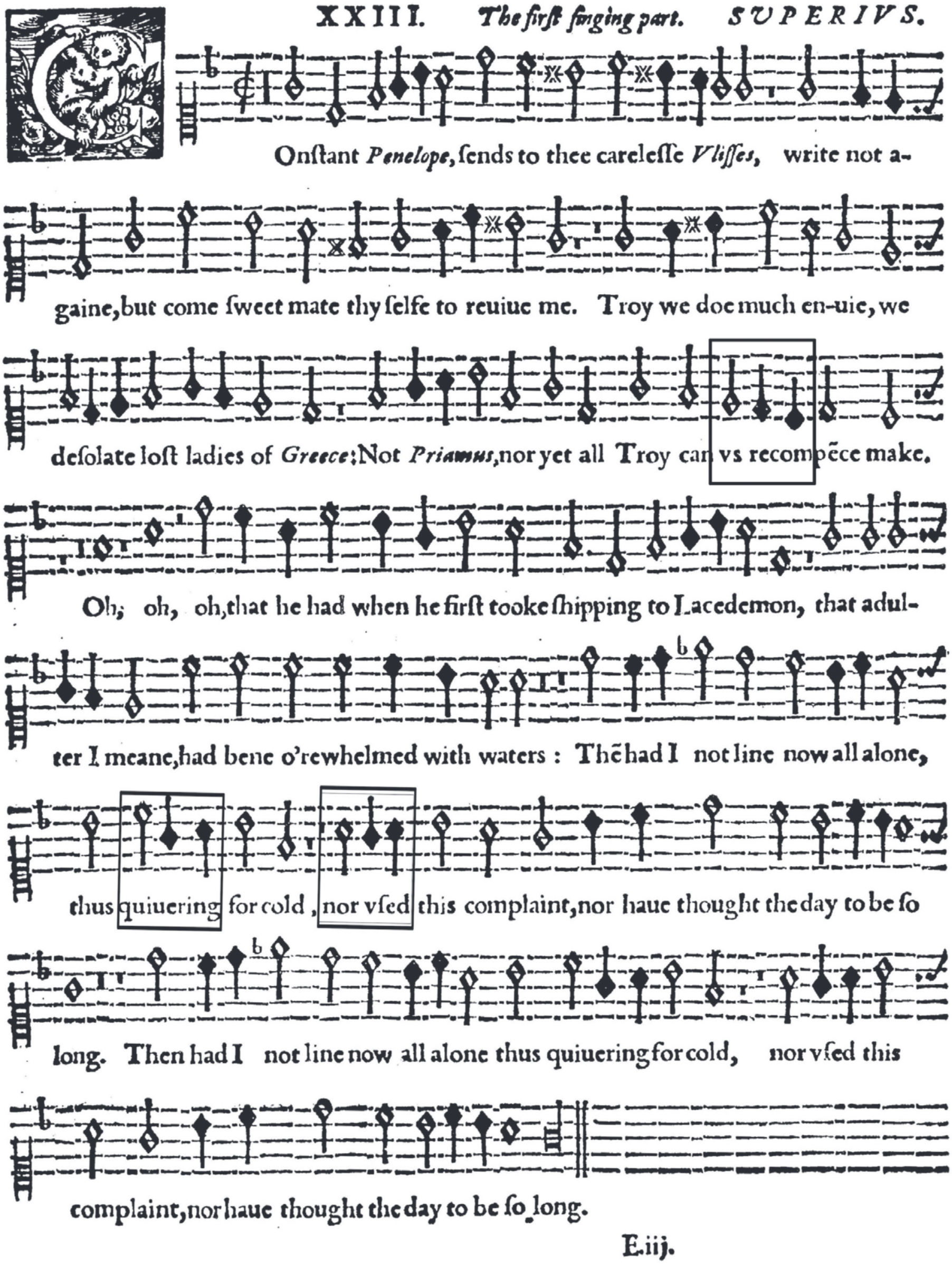

FIG. 6.2. The setting of 'Constant Penelope' from William Byrd, *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Piety*, 1588. Courtesy of Professor Philip Brett.

or a vowel followed by two consonants. The only one of these rules that could be applied in English with any kind of consistency was the one about the double consonants: spelling, following pronunciation, was so various that there was no way of deciding from orthography whether a vowel was long or short, and diphthongs were similarly ephemeral. One could create the necessary metrics by manipulating the spelling, but if the ultimate goal was a stable language for poetry, this would have the opposite effect. There was, moreover, a different kind of problem with the double consonant rule: in Latin, double consonants really do lengthen short vowels, as happens to the *u* in 'arma virumque cano'. But the most common English examples are the *-ing* ending of present participles, which are, in pronunciation, stubbornly short. Campion, in one of the zanier moments of his *Observations*, faces up to precisely this sort of example, and maintains that although we pronounce the second syllable of 'Trumpington' short, 'yet is it naturally long', and must be considered so by any composer setting it.[7] What can 'naturally' mean there — what concept of nature is being invoked? Nature somehow inheres in the Latin rules (similarly, Scaliger asserted in his *Poetics* that though poetry has to imitate nature, we can best imitate nature by imitating Virgil).[8]

A look at the scansion reveals that the quantity has been determined by working backwards from the syllables with double consonants, which are the only ones that can be called definitively long; the other vowels are considered either long or short depending simply on the requirements of the metre. Within this rather baggy system, the poem conforms to the rules well — there is a little fudging: in lines 5 and 8 the initial *h* in 'he' and 'have' has had to be treated as silent (as it probably was), and in line 6, the *w* in 'with' is treated as a vowel, and the final *th* as a single letter; but for the most part the scansion is correct. I say for the most part, because there are, however, three clear errors. The first two are caused by the same sort of metrical anomaly that troubled Campion. In line 4, the second syllable of 'recompense' is pronounced short but according to the double-consonant rule is 'naturally' long. Byrd's setting here is instructive (Figure 6.2). Long syllables are set as half notes, short ones as quarter notes, and the setting follows the scansion precisely, until the penultimate foot of line 4, 'us recom-', where Byrd violates the rule and sets 'com' as a short syllable, which is necessary to make the foot a dactyl — in effect, he corrects the versification. Similarly, in line 7, the three syllables of 'quivering', to be a dactyl, have to scan as a long and two shorts. But the *–ing* ending can only be long, making the foot an anapest. Anywhere else in the line, the word could be scanned as two syllables, 'quiv'ring', a spondee, with both syllables long because both vowels are followed by double consonants; and anywhere else in the line, a spondee could replace a dactyl. But this is the penultimate foot, which has to be a dactyl — in this case the poet either forgot that part of the rule, or decided to ignore it. Here Byrd corrects the metre by setting the erratic anapest (or illegitimate spondee) as a dactyl. There is another error in the next line, which Byrd also corrects: the last syllable of 'usèd' is technically long, since it is followed by 'this' — the poet could easily have rectified the metrics, reading the word as one syllable, 'us'd', and making the foot a spondee. Byrd instead sets it as a dactyl.

Byrd's correction of the scansion of this poem is a tiny indication of how actively

involved in the issue of quantity English culture actually was at this time. The poem is always ascribed to Thomas Watson, because he was acquainted with Byrd and wrote at least one (non-quantitative) song text for him. But I doubt that this can be right: Watson was a thoroughly proficient classicist, who wrote much more Latin poetry than English.[9] He would not have made mistakes in composing hexameters. Byrd was more expert than his poet here.

My general point is that I do not think the Elizabethan interest in quantitative verse is nearly as eccentric as literary history has made it out to be. The English had been for decades intensely interested in alternative ways of counting poetry — e.g. Wyatt's and Surrey's metrical experiments:

> And girded with diamonds, in letters plain
> There is written her fair neck round about
> Noli me tangere, for Caesar's I am,
> And wild for to hold, though I seem tame.

Or:

> The long love that in my heart doth harbor...

Or Milton, a century later:

> Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death.

That kind of playing off of quantity against accent is just what is going on in 'Constant Penelope'; nor is it limited, moreover, to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here is Browning in an explicitly musical poem, 'A Toccata of Galuppi's':

> Dust and ashes: so you chant it,
> And I want the heart to scold.
> Dear, dead women, with such hair too!
> What's become of all the gold
> Used to hang and brush their bosoms.
> I feel chilly, and grown old.

'Dear, dead women, with such hair too' is quantitative verse. It does not follow the Latin rules, but it is quite as attentive to quantity as to stress. It is true to the spirit of Sidney and Campion.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. In G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1904 and numerous subsequent reprintings), I, 160.
2. 'Conversations with Drummond', in C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–1952), I, 133, 143.
3. In Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 204–05.
4. *Well-weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 128–34 and *passim*.
5. On Ralegh's accent, see Mark Nicholls and Penry Willams, *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 31; for Laneham (or Langham), it has been persuasively argued that his *Letter* about the Kenilworth Entertainment, published in 1575, with its eccentric spelling ('A, muzik iz a nobl Art', p. 44), is in fact a spoof satirizing this courtier's mode of speech. See H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Langham, Robert (c. 1535–1579/80)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16002> [accessed 8 April 2015].

6. Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables*, p. 197.
7. *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602). In Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 351–52.
8. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* (Lyons: Antoine Vincent, 1561), p. 83; and cf. also pp. v and 113.
9. On Watson's Latin expertise see Stephen Clucas, 'Thomas Watson's *Ekatompathia* and European Petrarchism', in *Petrarch in Britain. Interpreters, Imitators, and Translators over 700 Years*, ed. by Martin McLaughlin and Letizia Panizza (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 217–27.


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PART II

Bruno, Campanella and Other Challenges to Religious Authority

CHAPTER 7

❖

Giordano Bruno: Portrait of a Philosopher Opposed to the Authority Principle

Eugenio Canone

In his writings Giordano Bruno fought against the principle of authority, which he saw as an expression of a power which lacked true validity and thus could only reply with a violent imposition of its own will.[1] What he was opposing was the authority of censors in the different guises adopted at the time; the appeal to authority was brought into play for problems to do with religious faith and not just for questions concerning literary or poetic models (for instance Petrarchism), or models of grammar and style (e.g. Ciceronianism), or philosophical models (such as the Aristotelianism which still dominated the schools).

Giordano Bruno is probably best remembered as the enemy of the authority principle, and this concerns not only the history of philosophy but, more generally, the history of culture.[2] The acceptance of the principle of authority seems to involve giving up the commandment of human reason which urges us to think with our heads as well as our eyes. For Bruno, this was a fundamental right and duty: knowing was an act that had to do with ethics.[3] Despite the fact that he expresses opinions in his writings that are contrary to Aristotle as far as the concepts of being, the infinite, nature and soul are concerned, Bruno would remain faithful to his early Aristotelian education as regards the link between knowledge and ethics: he stays loyal to the premiss at the start of the Greek philosopher's *Metaphysics* — 'All men are by nature directed towards knowledge' — as well as to those parts of the *Nicomachean Ethics* dealing with contemplation as a heroic virtue.

In Bruno there is an awareness of the distance between the masses' habitual subjugation to the authority principle (through fear or convenience, laziness, ignorance) and the battle waged by the *few,* who fight against a subjection which often takes on the character of voluntary servitude: there are very few, in fact 'un solo' [just one person alone], who — as our philosopher writes, perhaps over-optimistically — 'although alone, can and will win, and in the end will be the victor, having triumphed over general ignorance'.[4] The response of Bruno to the Inquisitors of the Catholic Church when commenting on the verdict condemning him to the stake is justly famous: 'Perhaps you are more afraid to read me that sentence than I

am to receive it.'[5] In this case too we find *one person alone* against general ignorance and violence. Certainly for Bruno an eloquent example of authority without any justification was the Church, which preached morality in society while within its ranks corruption and abuse was widespread.

We have to remember that the culture of this period was fundamentally authoritarian, imposing as it did models which were often devoid of content. The Nolan philosopher offers peerless images of this situation in his writings, where the figure of the pedant triumphs, although in a negative light: sometimes he is a grammarian, sometimes a philosopher, sometimes a theologian — in each case he is a man without any qualities, whose role is always to defend something which he considers himself to co-own, often a senseless model and one which he does not even understand fully. The pedant is the perfect image of the ignoramus who holds a position for no precise reason but does so with arrogance, and who, like Prudenzio in the *Cena de le Ceneri* [The Ash Wednesday Supper] (1584), when faced with difficult arguments, can do nothing except appeal to formulae such as: 'Sii come la si vuole, io non voglio discostarmi dal parer de gli antichi, perché, dice il saggio, nell'antiquità è la sapienza' [However that may be, I do not wish to depart from the wisdom of the ancients, because — as the wise man says — in antiquity lies wisdom].[6]

For Giordano Bruno the difference between the idea of imitation, laid down by the principle of authority, and the idea of invention involves two different conceptions of the world that are mutually incompatible. As he observes in *De gli eroici furori* [On the Heroic Frenzies] (1585),[7] the person who champions the cause of imitation believes that art is born from rules, whereas he who embraces the concept of invention, by contrast, holds that rules derive from art, in other words that they emerge from the constantly differing ways that art has of expressing itself. It is clear that the principle that Bruno abhors is that of uniformity: all forms of standardization and homogeneity. Thus the main enemy for him is the grammarian (*grammaticus*, *grammatista*), whether in the field of philosophy, literature or theology. Yet very often he refers specifically to the theologian who wants to make pronouncements in the field of philosophy and science, whereas for the Nolan philosopher these latter two areas constitute a pathway which makes the human mind heroic in a perspective that is very different from the transcendental perspective of faith.[8] Already in *De umbris idearum* [On the Shadows of Ideas] (1582) Bruno reminds the person who judges through the lens of the grammarian that in his own philosophical discourse he excludes any simple relationship of synonyms,[9] in that — as he will state in the *De imaginum compositione* [On the Composition of Images] (1591) — 'before the tribunal of philosophy synonyms cannot exist'.[10] What we have here is a precisely laid-out philosophical programme, from the *De umbris idearum*, his first published work, to the *De triplici minimo et mensura* [On the Triple Minimum and Measure] (1591), one of his last compositions: an oeuvre which goes from the claim to freedom of expression in any particular genre of philosophy — with the possibility of freely employing terms from Platonism, Aristotelianism and other philosophical sects,[11] and attributing a different meaning to them — to the project of bringing back to new life doctrines and terms from ancient natural philosophy (of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, the Presocratics). This can be done

by establishing a terminology suitable for contemporary science, and by always attaching more importance to substance than to words.[12]

Imitation and invention — on the one hand there is the idea of a principle that points to something absolute, something which, fixed in time, becomes a paradigm. Compared with this principle, the freedom of the single individual is in fact not very relevant, since what counts are the values given and inherited which define a precise cultural identity, an identity that concerns art as well as religion and politics.[13] A key word in the principle of authority, as in the principle of imitation, is 'custom': in other words, agreeing to live passively with what has been handed down by tradition.[14] On the other hand there is instead the conception of a principle that, as a fundamental value, points to 'variety' and 'diversity',[15] which thus reflects the idea of different points of view, whose legitimacy on an ontological level consists of course in a remote unified foundation, but whose actual legality is on the level of articulating that single principle in an infinite plurality of worlds.[16] Bruno's cosmological conception of infinite worlds is reflected in his unwavering affirmation of a plurality of visions of the world.

The critique of the authority principle and the distinction between imitation and invention send us back to the basic nucleus of Bruno's philosophy, its cosmology of infinite worlds — 'l'universo è tutto centro e tutto circonferenza' [the world is all centre and all circumference][17] — which on the ontological plane connects with the idea of a being who is 'moltiunico' [multiply-single], in other words 'uno, ma moltimodo e moltiforme e moltifigurato' [single, but with multiple ways of being, forms and figures].[18] The new cosmology involved, apart from the heliocentric conception of our planetary system (also applicable to an infinite number of other planetary systems in the universe), the idea of a homogeneity of matter in the infinite and the consideration of the illusory nature of the celestial spheres of Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology, thus also the rejection of a cosmos that implied an ontological distinction between the earthly, *sublunar* sphere, and the heavenly, *supralunar* sphere. This was a distinction that concerned matter itself: the four elements of which our planet supposedly consists as against a quintessence which makes up the heavenly bodies. As far as ontology is concerned, Bruno's anti-authoritarian polemic is directed against the metaphysics of Plato and Aristotle, because they had distanced themselves from the Presocratic conception of a physical being in favour of the idea of a logical entity, an abstract entity which was apparently conceived of as being beyond the physical universe,[19] whereas there cannot be a 'beyond' the universe: 'estra e oltre lo infinito essere non è cosa che sia' [there is nothing outside and beyond the infinite being].[20]

It is thus not surprising that Bruno's polemic extends to the Judaeo-Christian theological conception of a supreme divinity, along with a rejection of the idea of a personal god and of the Christian idea of divine incarnation. At the root of Bruno's detachment from religion we find motifs of a philosophical nature which concerned theological questions, such as the critique of the distinction between God's *potentia absoluta* and his *potentia ordinata*[21] and the rejection of the idea of creation,[22] since the universe is eternal and nature is the infinite effect of the infinite cause[23] (it is no accident that he defines nature as 'unigenita natura').[24] In addition, there seems

to have been, from his youth onwards, a profound disenchantment with Christian dogma. This accompanied his rejection of the cult of saints and relics, and was soon followed by a rejection of St Paul's interpretation of Christianity, in other words a faith that pointed to a road to salvation that was beyond nature and reason, almost as if — as he would write in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* [The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast] (1584) — 'natura e divinità non possono concorrere in uno medesimo buono fine' [nature and divinity cannot work together towards one good end].[25] For the Nolan philosopher, nature 'non è altro che dio nelle cose' [is nothing other than god in things],[26] and the relationship between human beings and the divinity can never be direct, but always takes place through the mediation of nature and her species.[27] It is no coincidence that Bruno always prefers Origen to St Augustine, both for Origen's engagement with polytheism and the idea of *apocatastasis* (the restoration of all things).

During his trial in Venice, Bruno declared that he had entertained doubts about the Incarnation — and therefore about the Trinity — from the age of eighteen,[28] more or less a year after donning the Dominican habit. This suggests that his doubts over religious dogma went back to the year of his novitiate or shortly afterwards, but we cannot know with certainty whether such doubts actually preceded his entry into the Neapolitan convent of San Domenico Maggiore. However, it is emblematic that it is precisely to the period of his novitiate that an episode mentioned in the trial documents seems to refer: during a game of randomly choosing lines from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, he had drawn the line: 'd'ogni legge nimico e d'ogni fede' [an enemy of every law and of every faith].[29]

Even though in his writings Bruno is keen to underline the distinction between philosophical and theological discourse,[30] and thus between the concept of *unità infinita* [infinite unity] according to 'lume naturale' [natural lights] not 'lume sopranaturale' [supernatural lights],[31] his philosophical critique deals with the conception of a personal, absolute god: 'quel dio, come absoluto, non ha che far con noi' [that god, as something absolute, has nothing to do with us],[32] in the sense of having direct communication with us, independent of the mediation of infinite nature. In this, Bruno shows himself contrary to Hebrew monotheism, to the conception of a god who communicates with a chosen people. In one of his most inspired works on religious tolerance, the letter addressed to Emperor Rudolph II which introduces the *Articuli adversus mathematicos*, our philosopher, using expressions reminiscent of certain Gnostic statements, speaks of a 'perverse demon adored by a people set apart', to which he contrasts the idea of a god of love, father of all, who 'makes his sun rise both on the good and the wicked, and rains his graces down on the just and the unjust'.[33] It should come as no surprise, then, that during his trial before the Inquisition an informant declared that in prison Bruno had said that the law of Moses was not 'data da Dio, perché era una legge tirannica e sanguinolenta' [given by God, because it was a tyrannical and bloody law].[34]

From several of Bruno's considerations it clearly emerges that his modern critique of the authority principle, from an epistemological and political point of view, has its roots in a critique that is theological in character, for instance attacking the rigid interpretation of the so-called sacred texts and, more generally, restricted

interpretative rules. For our philosopher the Bible contains doctrines regarding wisdom, but this is true of other such books; however, the validity of certain doctrines pertains more to the sphere of anthropology and morality than to science. The attitude of theologians to the Bible is seen by Bruno as being emblematic of a genuine incomprehension that claims to lay down rules for others. In the letter by Kaspar Schoppe,[35] we read that for Bruno 'sacras literas esse somnium' [sacred texts were a dream].[36] It is not clear whether Schoppe was referring to a passage from the letter in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* which states that the author 'Ha gli miracoli per miracoli, [...] le imposture per imposture, [...] le paroli e sogni per paroli e sogni' [considers miracles as miracles, ... impostures as impostures, ... words and dreams as words and dreams],[37] although this is probable. As I have noted, an urge to demystify concerns is applied also to the philosophical terminology of the ancients: ideas live if translated into a modern language, but one has to avoid linguistic fetishism, like that of a certain kind of humanism which believed that the translations of medieval authors — from Greek to Latin, even via Arabic — are to be rejected since those translators were not rigorous in their Latin, in its grammar and lexis.[38] For the Nolan philosopher, modernity consists in making the doctrines of the past live, not betraying them but rather reconstructing their sense, focusing on their meaning in the cultural context. We can thus understand the praise he lavishes on Copernicus for his merits as regards Presocratic doctrines, which he felt had been manipulated and betrayed by Aristotle whom Bruno defined as a 'carnefice delle altrui divine filosofie' [butcher of other people's divine philosophies].[39] Copernicus instead had rendered harmonious 'quelli abietti e rugginosi fragmenti ch'ha possuto aver per le mani da la antiquità, le ha ripoliti, accozzati e risaldati' [those discarded and rusty fragments which he managed to get his hands on from antiquity, and he cleaned them, put them together and made them stronger].[40]

With the 1585 publication in London of his *De gli eroici furori*, Bruno completed his cycle of six philosophical dialogues in Italian, launched in February of the previous year with the publication of the *Cena de le Ceneri*. The printing of the *Furori* must have taken place between the late spring and summer of that same year; in the autumn of 1585 the philosopher left England, where he had been living since April 1583. The *Furori* represent his farewell to the cultural context of the English court, certainly a cultured and lively environment, but one that was intolerant of attacks on religion, just as it was intolerant of the critiques of the English nation by a foreigner. It must be remembered that in the *Cena* Bruno had expressed strong criticisms of Christianity especially in its relations with Judaeism, just as he had presented a ruthless portrait of the University of Oxford and of English society in all its contradictions: on the one side there was an elite of considerable cultural sophistication, even though plagued by religious questions,[41] on the other a mass of plebs, who were uncultured and xenophobic, hostile to all forms of knowledge and intolerant of foreigners. The portrait of the London masses that Bruno painted in the *Cena* — 'irrespettevole, incivile, rozza, rustica, salvatica e male allevata' [disrespectful, uncivil, crude, boorish, savage and badly brought up][42] — was very different from the benevolent image of the Neapolitan poor in his comedy, the *Candelaio* [The Candle-Maker], whose role in the comedy is, paradoxically, to allow

justice to triumph over the pseudo-intellectual bourgeoisie, who with their ambitious claims to science, learning, love — all of these false claims — would betray common sense and nature itself.[43] These Neapolitans were rascals who, compared with the London plebs, could always say they had been born and educated 'sotto più benigno cielo' [under a more benign sky]![44] In England, as in France and Germany, Bruno puts his finger on the cultural capacities of his time (in terms of cosmological science, with important consequences as regards physics) but sees that these were united in defence of tradition, and worked towards a banalization of knowledge: a triumph of words and hypotheses which was the counterpart of a lack of content and certainty.

Bruno soon realized that it was the theologians who represented the biggest obstacle to the *libertas philosophandi* and to the establishment of a new concept of nature according to which infinite nature was an *ens* [entity], in other words 'the very thing that exists'.[45] This concept was at the same time both ancient and modern. The calculations of mathematicians and astronomers, coupled with astronomical observations,[46] according to Bruno, confirmed the physical reality of the heliocentric system, and for him our planetary system was to be seen as an example of infinite numbers of other, analogous solar systems: in the infinite universe the homogeneity of matter was counter-balanced by an organicism in the architecture of the worlds (planetary systems with a central star). The fact that, because of the awareness of an Earth in constant movement, the obstacle of sense perception had to be overcome was for Bruno proof that the information offered by the senses concerned life on earth, thus it was connected with the preservation of the self in the context of one's own animal species, and therefore that 'l'infinito non può essere oggetto del senso' [the infinite cannot be the object of our senses].[47] Bruno held that the senses were entitled to have a say in their own sphere, but they could not be an adequate tool for the understanding of what went beyond that sphere: the eye of our senses had to give way to the eye of reason and the mind. This was about moving onto a new level which offered the consideration and intuition of the power of nature, and which was able to understand the meaning of that tendency towards the infinite typical of the human being's intellect, imagination and will. This was a consideration which took account — with doctrinal support, in the context of a philosophy of history marked by the alternation of light and darkness — of forgotten moments in the history of thought, moments which would reclaim the idea of a power of the human mind in strict relationship with the power of nature. Moments in a history of knowledge which would later be condemned as expressions of idolatry or naive naturalism: Bruno was referring in particular to the natural science of the Egyptians, ridiculed by Judaeism and Christianity, but he was also referring to the Presocratics who had been discounted as mere 'physical' philosophers by Plato and Aristotle thanks to their logical, abstract interpretation of being. For Bruno there was no need to go back to the idea of a *mind* infused into the human being directly by God, as Telesio had had to accept, in order not to run into trouble with the Inquisition, an idea that Campanella had later intelligently adopted: as if God gave to nature the power to offer everything to the animal species while reserving the gift of mind only for human beings. For the Nolan there

was no ontological difference between sense and mind, only one of degree, and in all its degrees our cognitive power went back to nature and not to a transcendental god: the idea of a god transcending the infinite universe he held to be absurd. To appeal to Plato's *Phaedo* with its metaphor of the 'second voyage' did not lead to any real progress compared to the Presocratics. For Bruno it was nature herself who offered a double kind of knowledge to man: one concerning the species, one regarding the totality, a totality that had the attribute of unity and therefore was One-Everything.

There were two main theological obstacles to the *libertas philosophandi*. The first was the progressive weakening of philosophical research, and consequently of the role of the philosopher in sixteenth-century society; the philosopher became at times a courtier, at times a schoolmaster, albeit a pretentious one with the title of 'doctor'. In the first dialogue of *De la causa, principio et uno* [On the Cause, Beginning and One] Bruno seemed to valorize the role of the medieval philosopher-theologian compared to the image of the philosopher-grammarian of his own times. Nevertheless, one has to understand Bruno's position clearly: he was not in favour of an embrace between reason and faith which he felt always had to remain distinct, but this was only because the medieval philosopher-theologian had an elevated role in society at the cultural level, while the philosopher-grammarian was nothing. Thanks to those whom Bruno defined as false friends and children of mother philosophy, the figure of the philosopher was discredited within the society of his own time, so much so that even among the masses the term 'philosopher' was the equivalent of mountebank, charlatan, a kind of scarecrow, however useful a scarecrow might be in other contexts.[48]

The second factor was the power that theology had assumed in the context of philosophy itself, thanks to the ability of certain religious orders (especially the Dominicans and the Jesuits) to appoint teachers in the public universities who would teach Aristotelian-Scholastic philosophy. The situation was not so different in Protestant countries, and Bruno had had direct experience of this in Geneva and Oxford, and it would be confirmed in various German universities. To all intents and purposes the theologians controlled the teaching of philosophy, and the spread of humanist culture had not brought any benefits, since the humanism that triumphed in European universities was grammatical rather than moral in character. The study of texts became an end in itself, and often the texts themselves were dethroned by commentaries, grammars and dictionaries.[49] Bruno identified another aspect as well: the deep connection between the defence of the purity of a theological doctrine and the defence of a presumed purity of language.

In the introductory sections of the philosophical dialogues written in London, Bruno's anti-authoritarian message was expressed both in terms of content and on the level of language. The most emblematic text in this sense was the introductory letter to the *Cena de le Ceneri*. Yet this all came full circle with the 'Argomento' that preceded *De gli eroici furori*, and the polemic against the theologians was already evident in the work's title, which the philosopher claimed he had initially wanted to call *Cantica*, alluding to the Song of Songs. Apparently he did not do so, 'per il timor ch'ho conceputo dal rigoroso supercilio de certi farisei, che cossì mi stimarebono

profano per usurpar in mio naturale e fisico discorso titoli sacri e sopranaturali, come essi, sceleratissimi e ministri d'ogni ribaldaria, si usurpano più altamente, che dir si possa, gli titoli de sacri, de santi, de divini oratori, de figli de Dio' [because of the fear I had developed of the rigorous eyebrows of certain Pharisees, who for this reason would think me profane for having usurped for my discourse on nature and physics sacred and supernatural titles, just as those wicked people, ministers of all ribaldry, usurp more seriously than can be said the titles of sacred, saintly, divine orators, of the sons of God].[50]

After the publication of the *Cena de le Ceneri* accusations rained down on the philosopher's head: he was criticized for having insulted 'tutta una città, tutta una provinzia, tutto un regno' [a whole city, a whole province, a whole realm].[51] Bruno replied to these accusations by adding to the *De la causa* an introductory dialogue which he called an 'apology' for the *Cena*, where he explained his own motives .[52] Yet there had already been a break with the environment of the English court in the early months of 1584, and until the publication of *De gli eroici furori* this was a period of what amounted to a kind of freedom fight, since his aim was more important: to accomplish his mission,[53] in other words to finish the publication of his dialogues, which were the quintessence of his 'nolana filosofia'. On the other hand, London at that time was an ideal place for this, both because of the presence of numerous Italian exiles, and for its contacts with the cultural world of Paris and Europe. In all probability, as the *Cena* circulated, there was also a break with the French ambassador Michel de Castelnau, who must have considered it was inappropriate to offer hospitality to that Italian exile, an ex-Dominican who in England, as previously in France and later in Germany, had the reputation of being a man without religion, in the sense that in his speech and in his writings he criticized religions based on revelation.[54] The philosopher had been preceded on English soil by an eloquent message from Henry Cobham, English ambassador in Paris, to Francis Walsingham, the Queen's first secretary: 'Il Sr Doctor Jordano Bruno Nolano, a professor in philosophy, intendeth to pass into England; whose religion I can not commend.'[55] Moreover if we are to believe Giulio Cesare Lagalla, Elizabeth I herself apparently thought Bruno a wicked atheist.[56] We have no confirmation of the insinuation made by this Aristotelian doctor and philosopher; but it should be recalled that Lagalla had been in the service of Giulio Antonio Santori, Chief Inquisitor in Rome, who was to be very hostile to Bruno during his trial.

The fact is that for Bruno the Bible was a book just like any other, and this involved a cultural revolution: the Bible became a book to be quoted at times to support a certain philosophy, at other times to display the irreducibly metaphorical nature of its text, and hence its lack of usefulness when dealing with questions of natural philosophy.[57] Divine wisdom itself was placed by Bruno in a hierarchy of wisdom, in which Chaldean and Egyptian wisdom occupied first place, followed by the Presocratics. Biblical wisdom was often assimilated by him into Egyptian wisdom, but only inasmuch as the former depended on the latter. He did not recognize any effective doctrinal autonomy in Judaeism, not even as far as the Kabbalah was concerned.

Bruno's situation did not improve with the publication of *De l'infinito, universo e mondi* [On the Infinite, the Universe and Worlds], with its dedication to de

Castelnau, just like the *Cena* and *De la causa*. The *De l'infinito* was a work in which he hoped for a relationship of reciprocal respect between philosophers and theologians.[58] Nor did his situation improve with the publication of the *Spaccio*, with its Sybilline dedication to Philip Sidney. With his final English work, the *Furori*, also dedicated to Sidney, Bruno could contextualize this English experience of his, and see it as an intellectual autobiography which he was in the process of shaping, an autobiography which saw him as the antagonist of authorities and religions, as well as of the culture of power, so that he could still claim to be 'd'ogni legge nimico e d'ogni fede', and 'un solo, benché solo, può e potrà vencere, ed al fine arà vinto, e trionfarà contra l'ignoranza generale'.[59] Bruno's English experience turned out to be an extraordinary laboratory for perfecting the portrait of a philosopher opposed to the authority principle.

Translated by Martin McLaughlin

Notes to Chapter 7

1. In this chapter I refer to the following standard editions of the works of Giordano Bruno: *Dialoghi italiani*, ed. by Giovanni Gentile, 3rd edn by Giovanni Aquilecchia (Florence: Sansoni, 1958, 1985), I: *Dialoghi metafisici* (pp. 1–544) and II: *Dialoghi morali* (pp. 549–1178) — henceforth BDI; *Opera latine conscripta*, ed. by F. Fiorentino and others, 3 vols in 8 parts (Naples: Morano [Florence: Le Monnier], 1879–1891; anastatic reprint (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann–Holzboog, 1962)) — henceforth BOL. I also draw on my own editions: *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante,* 2nd edn, and *De gli eroici furori*, ed. by Eugenio Canone (Milan: Mondadori, 2001 and 2011 respectively). For the reprint of the original edition of Bruno's play *Il candelaio*, and the philosophical dialogues in the vernacular, see Giordano Bruno, *Opere italiane* (anastatic repr. of the sixteenth-century edns), ed. by Eugenio Canone, 4 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1999). New translations of Bruno's dialogues are being made available in the 'Lorenzo da Ponte Library' series. See in particular *On the Heroic Frenzies. A Translation of 'Degli eroici furori'*, by Ingrid D. Rowland, text ed. by Eugenio Canone (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013). For further bibliographical references, see E. Canone, 'Giordano Bruno (1548–1600): Clarifying the Shadows of Ideas', in *Philosophers of the Renaissance*, ed. by P. R. Blum (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), pp. 219–35.
2. While not sharing some of the ideas in the volume, I refer the reader here to Giovanni Gentile, *Giordano Bruno nella storia della cultura* (Milan: Remo Sandron, 1907).
3. In the *Cena de le Ceneri* [The Ash Wednesday Supper], to Fulke Greville's rather provocative request to explain 'il suo Copernico ed altri paradossi di sua nova filosofia' [his Copernicus and other paradoxes of his new philosophy], Bruno replied 'che lui non vedea per gli occhi di Copernico, né di Ptolomeo, ma per i proprii' [that he did not see through either the eyes of Copernicus, or of Ptolemy, but with his own]: see Giordano Bruno, *La cena de le Ceneri*, BDI, pp. 26–27.
4. *Cena*, BDI, p. 35 (cf. ibid., pp. 63–64, which also relates to *De gli eroici furori*, BDI, pp. 998–99).
5. 'Maiori forsan cum timore sententiam in me fertis quam ego accipiam', quoted by Kaspar Schoppe in the famous letter to Konrad Rittershausen, dated 17 February 1600, the day Bruno was burnt at the stake in the Campo de' Fiori. Cf. L. Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, ed. by D. Quaglioni (Rome: Salerno, 1993), doc. 71, p. 351.
6. *Cena*, BDI, p. 39.
7. *De gli eroici furori*, BDI, pp. 958–59 (in the text, Bruno refers specifically to poetry).
8. Cf. *De la causa, principio et uno* [On the Cause, Beginning and One], BDI, p. 213.
9. *De umbris*, BOL, II.1, 171.
10. *De imaginum compositione*, BOL, II.3, 92 ('quoniam in curia philosophiae non ulla possunt esse synonyma').
11. *De umbris*, BOL II.1, 17–19.
12. *De triplici minimo et mensura*, BOL I.3, 135.

13. This identity is constructed over time, even when it puts together different cultural components (which are not always acknowledged as being different), but is considered timeless.
14. On the *consuetudo credendi* [habit of believing] cf. *Cena*, BDI, pp. 46–47; *De l'infinito, universo e mondi* [On the Infinite, the Universe and Worlds], BDI, pp. 500–01; *Furori*, BDI, pp. 1157–58; *Camoeracensis acrotismus* [The Collège de Cambrai Disputation], BOL I.1, 58–59; *Articuli centum et sexaginta adversus huius tempestatis mathematicos atque philosophos* [One Hundred and Sixty Articles against the Mathematicians and Philosophers of this Time], BOL I.3, 4–5. The *consuetudo credendi* obviously refers to *fides* [faith] and *credulitas* [credulity]. Bruno had dwelt in particular on the psychological or psycho-physical dynamics which were at the root of faith and credulity in his *Sigillus sigillorum* [The Seal of Seals] published in London in 1583 (cf. BOL II.2, 180–93).
15. For some of Bruno's considerations on the necessity of *varietas* and *diversitas* cf. *De umbris*, BOL II.1, 27, 45–46, 75, 82–83. The difference between the art of nature and human art consists in the fact that the latter also aims always to create new things, but to that end its methods of working have to vary. Bruno insists on this point, setting up a strict parallelism between the level of nature and that of culture.
16. The 'remote unified foundation' is the being, in other words the *Uno-Tutto* [One-Everything] that articulates an equivalence between freedom and necessity.
17. *Causa*, BDI, p. 185; cf. p. 321, to see how Bruno reinterprets the second sentence of the *Liber viginti quattuor philosophorum*: 'Deus est sphaera infinita cuius centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam' [God is an infinite sphere whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere], where he also takes account of Cusanus: 'possiamo affirmare [...] o che il centro de l'universo è per tutto, e che la circonferenza non è in parte alcuna per quanto è differente dal centro, o pur che la circonferenza è per tutto, ma il centro non si trova in quanto che è differente da quella' [we can affirm ... either that the centre of the universe is everywhere, and that its circumference is nowhere inasmuch as it is different from the centre; or that the circumference is everywhere, but the centre is nowhere to be found inasmuch as it is different from the former].
18. *Causa*, BDI, pp. 185, 323.
19. *Causa*, BDI, pp. 333–34. Bruno observes that Platonists and Aristotelians understand the being as 'un nome e dizione ed una logica intenzione, e in fine una vanità. Perché, trattando fisicamente poi, non conosceno uno principio di realità ed essere di tutto quel che è' [a name and saying and a logical intention, and in the end a vanity. For, when they come to treat it physically they do not know of a principle of reality and being for everything that is]. Cf. *Camoer. acrot.*, BOL I.1, 109: 'nature is herself the universal substance of things and the same thing that exists', which comes from the Latin 'natura est ipsa universalis rerum substantia, et ipsum quod est.'
20. *Causa*, BDI, p. 323.
21. More generally, Bruno's critique concerns a theology that is affirmative or 'positive', which claims truly to describe the divine essence.
22. Moreover Bruno considers the direct creation of man by God a fable, since human beings are generated by nature, just like other species. Bruno's critique also extends to the concepts of original sin, eternal salvation and damnation.
23. *Cena*, BDI, p. 34.
24. *Causa*, BDI, p. 282.
25. *Spaccio*, BDI, p. 804.
26. *Spaccio*, BDI, p. 776.
27. Cf. *Spaccio*, BDI, pp. 780–81. In his writings, Bruno refers also to the theory of the three worlds, which went back to the Platonic tradition and had been widely taken up in the Renaissance. Bruno notes that if the descent from the first or metaphysical world (*mundus metaphysicus*) to the third or rational world (*mundus rationalis*) takes place through the middle or natural world (*mundus naturalis*), similarly the dynamics of the ascent has to take place through this obligatory passage. Cf. for instance, *De imag. comp.*, BOL II.3, 101.
28. Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, doc. 13, p. 170.
29. *Orlando Furioso*, XXVIII. 99; cf. Firpo, doc. 51, pp. 249–53. It is Bruno himself who dates this episode, mentioned in the trial *Sommario*, back to the period of his novitiate.
30. Also during the trial in Venice, to the Inquisitor's question, 'Avete voi versato ne' studii theologici et sette instrutto delle catholiche rissoluzioni?' [Are you well versed in theological studies and

knowledgeable about Catholic tenets?], Bruno replied: 'Non molto, havendo atteso alla filosofia, ché questa è stata la mia professione' [Not much, having concentrated on philosophy, as this was my profession] (Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, doc. 14, p. 177). In fact, Bruno was only partly telling the truth, since he had spent the decisive decade of his education — from June 1565 — in the Neapolitan Convent of San Domenico Maggiore, and knew perfectly well the theology of the Church Fathers and the major authors of Scholasticism.

31. *Causa*, BDI, p. 308; Bruno writes: 'il conoscere questa unità è il scopo e termine di tutte le filosofie e contemplazioni naturali: lasciando ne' sua termini la più alta contemplazione, che ascende sopra la natura, la quale a chi non crede è impossibile e nulla' [to know this unity is the aim and end of all natural philosophies and all contemplations of nature; this leaves aside the highest contemplation [i.e. theology] on its own, since it rises above nature, which for those who do not believe is impossible and nothing]. Cf. *Furori*, BDI, p. 1075.
32. *Spaccio*, BDI, p. 783.
33. *Articuli adv. math.*, BOL, I.3, 4. In the letter Bruno talks of a law of love which proclaims universal philanthropy and on account of which we must love even our very enemies.
34. This was declared by Francesco Graziano, incarcerated along with Bruno in the Holy Office's prison in Venice (Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, doc. 51, p. 274). Graziano himself states that Bruno said that the law of Moses 'era dura, et iniqua e tiranna, e non data da Dio, ma fatta dalla sua imaginatione' [was harsh, unfair and tyrannical, and not given by God, but made up by his imagination], and that therefore 'era fintione che Moise havesse parlato con Dio' [it was a fiction that Moses had spoken with God] (ibid.).
35. Cf. note 5 above.
36. Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, doc. 71, p. 351.
37. *Spaccio*, BDI, pp. 551–52
38. In the epistolary polemic between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Ermolao Barbaro, Bruno would surely have sided with the former. For the two letters exchanged between Pico and Barbaro cf. the edition with Italian translation in *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, ed. by E. Garin (Milan–Naples: Ricciardi, 1952), pp. 804–23, 844–63.
39. *Furori*, BDI, p. 1115.
40. *Cena*, BDI, p. 28.
41. Both Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville were plagued by these questions, but both would support Bruno in the publication of his works (especially Sidney, to whom the philosopher would dedicate the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* and the *Eroici furori*).
42. *Cena*, BDI, p. 70.
43. It seems that Bruno attacks the values of the bourgeoisie as those of a society which goes ahead without any particular virtues, but which would fill 'jobs'.
44. *Cena*, BDI, pp. 133–34.
45. See the passage from the *Camoeracensis acrotismus* cited in note 19.
46. Cf. *Cena*, BDI, pp. 27, 39–40.
47. *Infinito*, BDI, pp. 368–69.
48. Cf. *Causa*, BDI, pp. 202–03.
49. See how Bruno presents the figure of 'Poliinnio' (the sacrilegious pedant) in the first dialogue of *De la causa*, BDI, pp. 215–17.
50. *Furori*, BDI, pp. 932–33. It is worth bearing in mind what Bruno writes in the 'Epistola esplicatoria' of the *Spaccio*, BDI, pp. 552–53.
51. *Causa*, BDI, p. 204.
52. *Causa*, BDI, p. 177.
53. Cf. the intensely autobiographical passage in the *Spaccio*, BDI, pp. 715–18.
54. Cf. what Giacomo Brictano states in the course of the trial in Venice, in Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, doc. 8, p. 153, e doc. 51, p. 249.
55. Cf. Giovanni Aquilecchia, 'Giordano Bruno in Inghilterra (1583–1585). Documenti e testimonianze', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 1:1–2 (1995), 22–26.
56. G. C. La Galla, *De phoenomenis in orbe Lunae... disputatio* (Venetiis: apud Th. Balionum, 1612), ch. 28, p. 25 (Lagalla claims that Elizabeth I considered Bruno 'ἄπιστος καὶ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἄθεος'). In this chapter, Lagalla discusses the atomistic view of an infinite plurality of worlds.

57. Cf. *Cena*, BDI, pp. 120–26; *Furori*, BDI, p. 933.
58. Of course, in his own way: 'gli non men dotti che religiosi teologi giamai han pregiudicato alla libertà de filosofi; e gli veri, civili e bene accostumati filosofi sempre hanno faurito le religioni; perché gli uni e gli altri sanno che la fede si richiede per l'instituzione di rozzi popoli che denno esser governati, e la demostrazione per gli contemplativi che sanno governar sé ed altri' [the theologians who are as learned as they are religious have never impinged upon the freedom of philosophers; and the genuine, civil and well-behaved philosophers have always supported religions; for both groups know that faith is necessary for the education of unlearned peoples who have to be governed, and proof is required for contemplatives who know how to govern themselves and others] (*De l'infinito*, BDI, p. 387).
59. See above, notes 4 and 29.

CHAPTER 8

❖

Bruno's *Candelaio*, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson: Building on Hilary Gatti's Work

Elisabetta Tarantino

> It's like one of those derelict, gaping, smashed-up, uncalked old boats that look as if they've been hauled up with hooks and grappling irons from the bottom of the sea. (*Candelaio*, Antiprologue; trans. by Hale)
>
> Giordano Bruno uses the expression 'the sunken ship of religion' in his *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* [...] to refer to the religious divide in Europe and the pernicious consequences that this had for him, at every level. (Alfonso Ingegno, *La sommersa nave della religione,* 1985)

In 2012 Hilary Gatti published an article showing how both William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson drew on Giordano Bruno's only play, *Candelaio* [The Candle-Maker, 1582], in works written at the start of the seventeenth century, after Bruno's death at the stake in February 1600.[1] In this chapter I argue that Hilary Gatti's 2012 article has opened the way to several important research avenues, with wide-ranging implications for both early modern English literature and the interpretation of Bruno's work from the early 1580s, the years in which he moved from France to England.

Hilary Gatti's seminal work of 1989, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, also explores the relationship between Giordano Bruno and early modern English culture, focusing on the knowledge of Bruno's philosophy in the circle of the Earl of Northumberland, and then on the possible relationship between this philosophy and Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The book includes a useful review of previous scholarly work on this question up to its date of publication.[2] In a further article, first published in 2000, our author discusses Bruno's *Candelaio* and Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*,[3] pointing out the common basis in the plots of these two plays, which in each case consists of '[t]he weaving together of a false alchemy and even falser forms of "love" '.[4] Finally, in her 2012 essay Hilary Gatti adduces certain specific points of contact that demonstrate a direct link between the *Candelaio* on the one hand and *Twelfth Night* and *Bartholomew Fair* on the other. This is not only ground-breaking work in itself, the fortune of the *Candelaio* in early modern England having so far been considered non-existent:[5] it also provides the basis for widening the investigation to the social and political reasons that led Shakespeare and Jonson to allude to Bruno's play in precisely these two works.

Hilary Gatti's essay on *Candelaio*, *Twelfth Night* and *Bartholomew Fair*

The 2012 essay is divided into several sections, including one on John Florio as a likely cultural mediator through whom knowledge of Bruno's work would have reached Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. The longest and final section (pp. 364–74) is devoted to 'Possible Echoes of the *Candelaio* in Shakespeare and Ben Jonson', where the author argues that elements of *Twelfth Night* and of *Bartholomew Fair* derive from Bruno's play.

In relation to *Twelfth Night*, the main similarity pointed out is that 'like Bruno's Bonifacio, Malvolio is duped by a fake letter into believing that the Lady Olivia is really in love with him, and, like Bonifacio, he is subjected to some grueling punishments for his presumption by fake representatives of law and order'.[6] Furthermore, there is a 'mirroring' in the names of these two characters, one of which means 'I do good', the other 'I wish evil'. This is intensified by the ironic perversion of the name of Bruno's character to 'Malefacio', 'I do evil', repeatedly within *Candelaio*.[7] Finally, as the article points out (pp. 366, 375), it is significant that (in a play so rich in intermingled French and Italian sources) no specific antecedent had so far been discovered for the gulling of Malvolio.[8]

As for the link between *Bartholomew Fair* and *Candelaio*, Hilary Gatti lists first of all the reference to the 'dog days', which sets both plays in the hottest days of summer — those linked to the 'Dog Star' Sirius, the brightest star in the constellation of the Canis Major, and to the 'canicula', or Canis Minor:

> a chi inviarrò quel che dal sirio influsso celeste, in questi più cuocenti giorni, ed ore più lambiccanti, che dicon *caniculari*, mi han fatto piovere nel cervello le stelle fisse [...]? (*Candelaio*, dedicatory letter 'Alla Signora Morgana B.'; emphasis added)
>
> [To whom shall I send what, by Sirius's celestial influence during these burning and hour-by-hour more inflamed days, called the Dog Days, the fixed stars have caused to swim in my brain [...]?][9]
>
> Thou art such another mad merry Urs still! Troth, I do make conscience of vexing thee now, i'the dog days, this hot weather, for fear of foundering thee i'the body, and melting down a pillar of the Fair. Pray thee, take thy chair again, and keep state. (*Bartholomew Fair*, 2.3.40–43)[10]

The likelihood of an actual link with Giordano Bruno's play is increased by the fact that the character who speaks these lines in *Bartholomew Fair* is called Jordan.[11] To this, one could add that the statement about keeping one's chair in the second sentence may signal an allusion to Bruno's *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* [The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast], as a further metaphorical undertone besides the obvious underlying reference to the practice of bear-baiting. This work by Bruno, one of six Italian dialogues published in London in 1584–1585, deals with a reformation in heaven in which several mythological characters and beasts that give their names to stars and constellations must give up their seats to related virtues. The first to be tackled is the 'Orsa della difformità' ['Bear of Deformity', or Difformity], who is replaced by Truth.[12] The joke on the constellation in *Bartholomew Fair* is made

explicit at the end of scene 11.5, where the injured Ursula is told, again by Jordan Knockem, 'thou shalt sit i'thy chair, and give directions, and shine *Ursa Major*' (ll. 148–49), before being actually carried inside on her chair. It is not at all unlikely that, having borrowed a reference to the 'dog days' from Bruno's *Candelaio*, Jonson was led to think of the *Spaccio*'s Bear, especially since the 'dog' constellations are mentioned almost immediately after the 'Orsa della difformità'. Also, the passage in the *Spaccio* on the expulsion of the Bear contains a rather off-hand reference to 'gli Orsi d'Inghilterra' ('the Bears of England'), i.e. the Earl of Warwick and his brother, the Earl of Leicester, and may thus have caused quite a stir among its English readers. The fact that this work by Bruno was the source for Thomas Carew's 1633–34 masque *Coelum Britannicum* confirms that there was an awareness of it in Stuart political and artistic circles.[13]

In her 2012 article, Hilary Gatti goes on to point out the similarities between Bruno's 'Bidello' and Ben Jonson's 'Stage-Keeper', in terms of both their function and their surly remarks. One could add that the way in which this character is superseded by the 'Book-Holder' also resembles the succession of introductory figures at the beginning of the *Candelaio*. The article further comments on 'the importance in both comedies of the final scenes of judgment' (p. 373), focusing on how in both plays the main 'judging' characters finally opt for reconciliation, or 'dialogue and persuasion', as they come to realize that they too are not 'altogether above and beyond the action of the play' (p. 374). In this respect, one might also point out the similarity between the *Candelaio*'s 'judging' character, Gioan Bernardo, and John Creaser's evaluation of Tom Quarlous in *Bartholomew Fair*: 'Dramatic authority rests with the most intelligent character in the play, and he is also the most unscrupulous.'[14]

Finally, Hilary Gatti points out that, as in the case of the gulling of Malvolio, no specific source has been found for *Bartholomew Fair* (p. 375).

The arguments brought by Hilary Gatti conclusively dispel the idea that Bruno exercised little or no influence on English renaissance drama, and at the same time open up several new lines of enquiry. In the first instance, this calls for a re-examination of other possible intertextual links between Bruno, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, both those already adduced and new ones that may be discovered. The second line of enquiry is the common concern in the three plays in question, *Candelaio*, *Twelfth Night* and *Bartholomew Fair*, which requires a discussion of Bruno's play in relation to the French political context in which it was published and the positions expressed by the author in his *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*. Finally, at the end of this chapter we consider the prima facie case for the existence of a genre of 'commemorative' plays, inaugurated by Bruno's *Candelaio* and successively taken up by English playwrights.

Further intertextual links

Among the parallels discussed by the scholars mentioned in Appendix II in Hilary Gatti's *Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, the most suggestive ones refer to *Hamlet*, a play that is contemporary with *Twelfth Night*. These parallels (along with several

others) had already been pointed out by Benno Tschischwitz in 1868.[15] One of these resemblances is that between the names Polonius and Corambis (as this character was called in the First Quarto) in *Hamlet* and those of two Brunian pedants, Poliinnio in *De la causa, principio e uno* and Coribante in the *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo*.[16] Secondly, of particular interest in the present context is the comparison between two passages in the *Candelaio* with passages in *Hamlet*. The first parallel is:

OTTAVIANO Che è la materia di vostri versi?
MANFURIO *Litterae, syllabae, dictio et oratio, partes propinquae et remotae.*
OTTAVIANO Io dico: quale è il suggetto ed il proposito? (*Candelaio*, II.1)

[OTTAVIANO What is the matter of your verses?
MANFURIO *Litterae, syllabae, dictio et oratio, partes propinquae et remotae.*
OTTAVIANO I mean, what is their subject matter, their theme?]

POLONIUS — What do you read, my lord?
HAMLET Words, words, words.
POLONIUS What is the matter, my lord?
HAMLET Between who?
POLONIUS I mean the matter you read, my lord. (*Hamlet*, II.2.191–95)

and the second:

> qualunque sii il punto di questa sera ch'aspetto, si la mutazione è vera, io che son ne la notte, aspetto il giorno, e quei che son nel giorno, aspettano la notte: tutto quel ch'è, o è cqua o llà, o vicino o lungi, o adesso o poi, o presto o tardi. Godete, dunque, e, si possete, state sana, ed amate chi v'ama. (*Candelaio*, dedicatory letter 'Alla Signora Morgana B.')
>
> [at whatever point we may be in this evening in which I wait, if the mutation is true, I who am in the night will move on into day, those who are in the day will move on into night; for everything that is, is here or is there, near or far, now or to come. Be happy, then, if you can, keep well, and love him who loves you.]
>
> If it be now, 'tis not to come. If it be not to come, it will be now. If it be not now, yet it will come. The readiness is all. (*Hamlet*, V.2.158–60)[17]

So far, these and other previously adduced correspondences have failed to gain acceptance in mainstream criticism as evidence of an actual intertextual relationship. However, overall there are indications that a re-reading of Shakespeare's plays from the early 1600s with the *Candelaio* in mind may lend additional resonance to specific Shakespearean passages. In relation to *Twelfth Night* in particular, a more in-depth discussion should address whether the differences that can be detected within the common elements with *Candelaio* denote only a basic knowledge of its plot elements (besides, as I shall argue below, an understanding of the overall import of Bruno's play), or whether these are conscious adjustments on Shakespeare's part. Thus one could look at the fact that, while Malvolio is duped by a letter forged by Maria unbeknown to her mistress, Bonifacio is duped by the lies he is told in conversation by Vittoria's *ruffiana* Lucia, who 'manages' the conspiracy in league with Vittoria herself and Gioan Bernardo, as well as with Bonifacio's wife. Also, we should consider that Bonifacio is both guiltier and more readily gulled than

Malvolio because it is his own underhand practice in the first place that is being turned against him. In the same way, his 'ho ho ho/he he he/hi hi hi/ha ha ha'ing throughout act 5 scene 1 is the direct expression of his own lust rather than the result of someone else's trickery — unlike Malvolio's inane smiling and equally inane expounding of the mysterious 'M.O.A.I.', for which it may nevertheless have provided an antecedent.[18]

In the same way, further investigation is required into the nature of Ben Jonson's borrowings from Bruno, which on first analysis seem quite detailed and specifically concerned with certain aspects of Bruno's agenda in *Candelaio*, including the connection with the openly polemical *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*. In addition to other Jonsonian passages noted elsewhere in this chapter because they help elucidate the political and historical meaning of the *Candelaio* itself, it may be worth considering the following similarities:

(a) *Candelaio*, title-page epigraph: 'In tristitia hilaris, in hilaritate tristis'; *Volpone*, epigraph to 1607 title-page: 'Simul & iucunda, & idonea dicere vitae'.

(b) Gioan Bernardo's 'honour' speech in his courting of Bonifacio's wife, Carubina: 'non è quel che noi siamo e quel che noi facciamo, che ne rendi onorati o disonorati, ma sì ben quel che altri stimano, e pensano di noi.' (*Candelaio*, V.11) [It is not what we are or what we do that makes us honored or dishonored, but just what people think of us, how we stand in their eyes.] This anticipates the song to Celia in *Volpone*: 'To be taken, to be seen, | These have crimes accounted been.' (III.7.181–82) In both cases this represents the successful courting of a married woman whose hitherto unsullied virtue is indicated by her 'heavenly' name.

(c) *Candelaio*, IV.16:

MANFURIO [...] *masculeum idest* masculino, *foemineum* il femminile, *neutrum* quel che non è l'uno né l'altro, *commune* quel che è l'uno e l'altro,...
BARRA Mascolo e femina.
MANFURIO ... *epicoenum* quel che non distingue l'un sexo da l'altro.
SANGUINO Quale di tutti questi sete voi? sete forse epiceno?
MANFURIO '*Quae non distinguunt sexum, dicas epicoena.*'

[MANFURIO [...] *masculeum idest* masculine, *foemineum* feminine, *neutrum* what is neither the one nor the other, *commune* which is both one and the other ...
BARRA Masculine *and* feminine?
MANFURIO ... *epicoenum* where the sexes are not distinguished.
SANGUINO And which of all these are you? Epicene, I suppose?
MANFURIO '*Quae non distinguunt sexum, dicas epicoena.*']

Cf. the title of Ben Jonson's play *Epicoene, or The Silent Woman* (1609–10).

(d) *Candelaio*, V.24, where Ascanio tells the story of how Carubina had consulted a wise old woman when she was considering whether to marry Bonifacio. The verdict had hung in the balance until Carubina had mentioned the rumour that he was mad. Then the woman had exclaimed emphatically — 'seven times' — that she should marry him precisely *because* he was a madman, provided he was not 'di que' riggidi, amari, agresti' (of the 'strict or bitter or harsh' kind).

Cf. *Bartholomew Fair*, where we learn that Dame Purecraft

> has had her nativity-water cast lately by the cunning-men in Cow Lane, and they ha' told her her fortune, and do ensure her she shall never have happy hour unless she marry within this sennight, and when it is it must be a madman, they say. (1.2.36–39)[19]

(e) The way in which Bonifacio and Bartholomew Cokes have their cloaks stolen by a conman to whom they had entrusted them in *Candelaio*, III.11 and *Bartholomew Fair*, IV.2 respectively.

In addition, there may be a three-way relationship between a passage in *The Alchemist*, the *Candelaio*, and the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*. In the *Spaccio*, Fortune is given a long and skilful speech in her own defence, where among other things she maintains her similarity to Justice on the basis that blindness (i.e. impartiality) is an asset in both their cases. She is thus able to fend off the accusation of favouring fools, her argument being that it is Nature who is at fault for creating more fools than wise people so that the odds are inevitably stacked in favour of the former. Despite her peroration, Fortune fails to gain a dedicated seat in heaven, though it is acknowledged that they all come under her jurisdiction anyway.[20] Cf. the beginning of the actors' prologue to *The Alchemist*:

> Fortune, that favours fools, these two short hours
> We wish away, both for your sakes and ours,
> Judging spectators, and desire in place
> To th'author justice, to ourselves but grace.

It is quite possible that when writing about wishing away Fortune and replacing her with justice (and grace) Ben Jonson may have had in mind Bruno's *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, especially since the passage on Fortune in the latter work is anticipated in scene V.19 in *Candelaio*, while a reference to Fortune helping fools appears in another important passage in IV.5. As in the case of the constellations mentioned above, it is likely that Jonson had made the connection between the two works by Bruno.

The rationale or common denominator

The 'Candelaio' and the French wars of religion

Having thus established that there is definitely a link between the *Candelaio* and plays by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson such as *Twelfth Night* and *Bartholomew Fair*, we can now explore the rationale behind this connection. Although in her 2012 article Hilary Gatti herself does not investigate the common elements of religious polemic, such a rationale (it will be argued here) may be found in the denunciation of certain forms of Protestantism, and the warning against religious strife.

In *Twelfth Night*, Malvolio is described as 'a kind of puritan',[21] while the satire against Puritans is an even more obvious aspect in both Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*. On the face of it, there is nothing of the sort in *Candelaio*. The play is set in Naples, and all explicit references to religion are consistent with a Catholic setting. The plot focuses on three negative heroes, and Bruno points out

in his synopsis that their faults are interlinked — they are like three facets of the same thing.[22] There is a certain parallelism, underlined in a dialogue within the play itself, between the two main characters: Bonifacio, who has decided that, in order to obtain the favours of a prostitute with whom he is infatuated, it will be cheaper to pay a 'magician' to make her fall in love with him rather than pay the prostitute herself; and Bartolomeo, who is not after a woman but after gold, and is paying an alchemist for the formula that will turn base metal into the precious one. The third negative hero, who is connected rather more loosely with the other two, is the pedant Manfurio. However, there is a layer of metaphorical meaning behind this skilful and lively plot, that allies this play with Bruno's explicit critique of Protestantism in his philosophical dialogues.

This critique is a well-known aspect of Bruno's thought.[23] Bruno inclined towards a form of universal or pantheistic view of the divine that implied a critique of all organized religion. In an important passage from one of his 'metaphysical dialogues', *De l'infinito, universo e mondi* [On the Infinite, the Universe and Worlds], the Catholic doctrine of the importance of good works is condemned as theoretically absurd, because human actions cannot be expected to sway the will of an infinite, all-powerful God. However, the passage goes on to state that only the wisest members of society can be allowed to hold this view: popularizing the idea of justification through faith alone, as Protestants were doing, took away that promise of divine rewards for good behaviour and punishment for bad deeds that Bruno considered an essential element in maintaining peace and order in society.[24] This is also the basis for Bruno's repeated anti-Protestant pronouncements in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*:

> perché, o che vegna dal cielo, o che esca da la terra, non deve esser approvata, né accettata quella instituzione o legge che non apporta la utilità e commodità, che ne amena ad ottimo fine: del quale maggiore non possiamo comprendere che quello, che talmente indirizza gli animi e riforma gl'ingegni, che da quelli si producano frutti utili e necessari alla conversazione umana. (p. 654)
>
> [because whether it descends from heaven or arises from the earth, that institution or law which does not bring the utility and convenience that lead us to an excellent end must be neither approved nor accepted. We cannot conceive a greater end than that which so directs minds and reforms inclinations that from them are produced fruits useful and necessary to human society. (*Expulsion*, p. 145)][25]
>
> Li nostri de la finta religione tutte queste glorie le chiamano vane; ma dicono che bisogna gloriarsi solamente in non so che tragedia caballistica. (p. 655)[26]
>
> [Our professors of false religion call all of these glories vain; they say, however, that we must glory in I know not what cabalistic tragedy. (*Expulsion*, p. 146)]

As mentioned above, there is nothing in *Candelaio* that relates explicitly to Bruno's views on religion. However, the play contains several hints that one should go beyond the literal meaning. One such indication is the link established by Bruno himself with his work on the art of memory, *De umbris idearum* [On the Shadows of Ideas], also published in Paris in 1582, immediately before *Candelaio*:

> eccovi la candela che vi vien porgiuta per questo *Candelaio* che da me si parte, la qual in questo paese, ove mi trovo, potrà chiarir alquanto certe *Ombre dell'idee*,[27] le quali in vero spaventano le bestie e, come fussero diavoli danteschi, fan rimaner gli asini lungi a dietro; ed in cotesta patria, ove voi siete, potrà far contemplar l'animo mio a molti, e fargli vedere che non è al tutto smesso. (*Candelaio*, dedicatory letter 'Alla Signora Morgana B.')
>
> [I am sending you a candle in this *Candelaio* of mine; for in this country where I am now it may help to shed light on certain *Shadows of Ideas* that are making beasts run wild, leaving even asses far behind, as if they had Dante's devils after them; and where you are now, it may show my mind to many and they will see that it has not entirely changed.]

Another indication is given by the frequency of phrases referring to the need to look further, to strive to understand:

> Questa è una specie di tela, ch'ha l'ordimento e tessitura insieme: chi la può capir, la capisca; chi la vuol intendere, l'intenda [...] Considerate chi va chi viene, che si fa che si dice, come s'intende come si può intendere. (*Candelaio*, Proprologo)[28]
>
> [The play is a sort of tapestry, with warp and woof; whoever can understand it, will, whoever wants to appreciate it, can [...] Watch who comes and goes, what happens and what is said, and take it as you will *(lit. how it is understood and how it can be understood)*.]

Another important aspect is the relationship between *Candelaio* and *Spaccio*: scene v.19 in *Candelaio* refers to Momo, the indictment of Fortune, and the virtues of Solicitude in a way that anticipates a central part, and central concern, of the *Spaccio*.[29]

There are strong indications, therefore, that readers of Bruno's play are expected to look for some 'meaning' in it. A first clue as to what that meaning might be is provided by one of the intertextual links between Bruno's *Candelaio* and Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* adduced by Hilary Gatti: the reference to the 'dog days' as the time-frame for both plays.[30] Through this allusion, Jonson retrospectively narrows even further the time span of Bruno's 'giorni [...] caniculari', since Jonson's play is eponymously set on the feast day of St Bartholomew, 24 August. To this we should add the fact that one of the three negative heroes in Bruno's play is called Bartolomeo, and that, although Bruno's play is set in Naples, it was printed in Paris in 1582. Thus Bruno was publishing a play that refers to the time of year around St Bartholomew's Day, and contains a character called Bartolomeo, in Paris on the tenth anniversary of the St Bartholomew massacre.

The name Bartolomeo in such a place and on such a date is in itself an important clue. However, the allusion to the context of the French wars of religion is strengthened through the other two negative heroes in *Candelaio*.

Manfurio is the first of a distinguished line of Brunian pedants. We mentioned above the possible relevance to *Hamlet* of the names of two such personages from Bruno's philosophical dialogues. In these dialogues Bruno tends to equate pedants with Protestant scholars.[31] Already in his controversy with the Genevan academic Antoine de la Faye in 1579 he is said to have used the term 'pédagogues' as an insult to belittle the intellectual qualities of his Calvinist opponents.[32]

However, the name itself of the *Candelaio* pedant is also significant. The term 'fury' (Fr. *furie*; It. *furia*, *furore*) seems to have become particularly associated with the St Bartholomew massacre and with religious violence in general. One of the earliest and most famous descriptions of the massacre to appear in print was *De furoribus gallicis* (1573), by François Hotman. An English version appeared in the same year under the title *A True and Plain Report of the Furious Outrages of France* (*STC* 13847). In early English printed books there are some forty occurrences of the phrase 'French fury' between 1582 and 1695, mostly in works denouncing attacks against Protestants.[33] Ben Jonson too uses the word 'fury' in *Bartholomew Fair* in conjunction with a reference to the 1572 massacre:

> Hold thy hand, child of wrath and heir of anger, make it not Childermas day in thy fury, or the feast of the French Barthol'mew, parent of the Massacre! (*Bartholomew Fair*, II.6.115–19)

Most importantly, the term is used at least twice by Bruno in what I believe are thinly veiled references to the St Bartholomew massacre. The first instance occurs within *Candelaio* itself, where Bonifacio is complaining of the fickleness of people's opinion, whereby the validity of an enterprise is judged by its outcome rather than its principles:

> Si la cosa passa bene: — Chi l'ha fatto, chi l'ha fatto? Il gran consiglio pariggino. — Si la va male: — Chi l'ha fatto, chi l'ha fatto? La furia francesa. (*Candelaio*, IV.5)
>
> [If things go well — who did it? who did it? Those clever French *(lit. The Great Council of Paris)*. If things go badly — who was responsible? who was responsible? Those barbarian French *(lit. The French fury)*.]

Then, at the end of dialogue two of the *Spaccio*, we find a direct echo of Hotman's title. In this passage, Mercury is describing the plight of a country under attack from religious strife imported from beyond the Alps, a state of affairs that is ultimately due to 'La grande avarizia che va lavorando sotto pretesto di voler mantener la Religione' (p. 720) [Great Avarice, who continues working with the pretext of wanting to preserve Religion (p. 196)]. The country in question is 'questo Regno Partenopeo' (p. 719), i.e. Naples, and critics have been divided as to whether this refers to events in that city from 1547 or 1585.[34] However, I should like to suggest that this whole passage refers to the danger posed by 'ceux de la Religion', as Protestants were commonly called in France, who were seen as ready to put their religious allegiance to Geneva above their political allegiance to their own country.[35] A significant element in this context is Mercury's stated intention to stall a possible recurrence of violence by means of deception, namely:

> una lettera di tradimento contra la pretenduta ambiziosa Ribellione; per la qual finta lettera si diverta l'empito maritimo del Turco, ed obste al *Gallico furore* ch'a lunghi passi da qua de l'Alpi per terra s'avicina. (*Spaccio*, pp. 723–24; emphasis added)
>
> [a letter of betrayal against Rebellion, alleged to be ambitious, by which false letter the maritime power of the Turk may be diverted and stand against Gallic fury, which in long strides is approaching by land on this side of the Alps. (*Expulsion*, p. 197)]

The Great Turk was a key figure in any attempt to balance out Spanish power on the international scene, and forged letters were a recurring feature in political negotiations at the time. Without wishing to make too strong a claim for the relevance of this particular reference, we can perhaps register the resonance of a forged letter being suggested as the best means to neutralize the Calvinists' 'pretenduta ambiziosa Ribellione'.

Going back to the *Candelaio*, given these uses of the term for 'fury', it is fair to conclude that the name 'Manfurio', like the name 'Bartolomeo', alludes to the St Bartholomew massacre and to the danger of large-scale religious violence in general. However, it is the name of the third and main protagonist, the eponymous candle-maker, that offers the richest elements for our investigation. As we have seen, Gatti stresses the parallelism between the name 'Bonifacio' ('I do good') in *Candelaio* and 'Malvolio' ('I will evil') in *Twelfth Night*, also pointing out how in the course of the play Bonifacio's name is sarcastically changed to 'Malefacio'.[36] Calling attention to the literal meaning of this character's name is a constant throughout the play. It constitutes Gioan Bernardo's opening speech: 'Bondì e bon anno a voi, misser Bonifacio. Avete fatta alcuna buona fazione, oggi?' (1.8) [Good day and good fortune, Bonifacio. Has business gone well today? — but with a play on 'buona azione', good deed]; it is spelled out by Vittoria in 11.3: 'per essere un Bonifacio [...] non ne potrà far altro che bene' [being a 'Bonifacio' [...] he can *do* nothing but *good*]. Also, in the final act the name is twice turned into its opposite, 'Malefacio' (v.19 and v.22). Coming at the end of the play, these final instances reflect the outcome of its main plot, which is based on revealing and redressing the 'Male-' behind the 'Boni-' in the character himself. The discerning audience is prepared for this, however, as early as scene 1.3, where Bonifacio ominously jests about Bartolomeo's brain being framed '*in cimbalis male sonantibus*', an allusion to Psalm 150.5: 'in cymbalis benesonantibus'.[37]

This insistence on the literal meaning of the protagonist's name is all the more significant because of what that meaning represents in terms of the contemporary religious debate. In fact, it refers not only to one of the main points of difference between Catholics and Protestants, the merits or otherwise of 'good deeds', but also to the specific issue that, as we have seen, embodied Bruno's main grievance against Calvinists. On the other hand, it is probably no coincidence that Shakespeare's 'Malvolio', besides recalling Bruno's 'Bonifacio' from a structural point of view, also alludes to the other main doctrinal point of divergence within these two divisions of Christianity, the question of free will.

Moreover, the name Bonifacio provides another direct link with the French religious wars of the time, and specifically to an episode that occurred less than two years after the St Bartholomew massacre, and which might have provided some of the main plot elements of *Candelaio*. The incident is painstakingly documented in a three-volume collection edited by Simon Goulart that constitutes the most important contemporary record of the circumstances surrounding the St Bartholomew massacre and their aftermath.[38] This collection went through five printings of three editions, most if not all of which were printed in Geneva between 1576 and 1578, that is roughly at the time of Bruno's stay there.

At Easter 1574, while the French court was assembled at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, a report arrived saying that a great number of horsemen were advancing on the town. Such an announcement obviously having the same effect as in more recent times the news of the approach of tanks, the court quickly retreated back to Paris. From the ensuing trial, it transpired that this had been a move to facilitate the escape from court of the King of Navarre and the King of France's youngest brother, the Duke of Alençon, who were seen as the heads, respectively, of the Protestant and of the 'politique' factions. Since the main defendants either managed to flee to safety or were protected from retribution by their royal blood, the whole fracas would seem more farcical than tragic, were it not for the fear it evoked of a second 'Saint-Barthélemy'.[39] What interests us in this episode is the similarity of certain incidental elements of the conspiracy with aspects of the *Candelaio* plot. As Robert Kingdon says:

> Chief among these defendants were a man named Joseph de *Boniface*, Sire de La Mole, a nobleman in Alençon's service, and another named Annibal de Coconnas, in La Mole's service.[40]

During the subsequent investigation,

> La Mole was discovered to have in his possession a number of little wax figures, and was accused of using them for malicious black magic, to provoke a fatal illness in the king. The king was in fact seriously ill and was to die only a few weeks later, so these figures provided a convenient explanation and made La Mole a convenient scapegoat. La Mole, however, indignantly denied this charge and explained that the figures had been constructed for beneficent white *magic, to persuade his mistress to marry him*. (Kingdon, p. 195; cf. Goulart, fols 196^{r-v}-197^{r})

Compare this with *Candelaio*, III.3, where Bonifacio the candle-maker is being instructed by Scaramuré on how to use a wax doll to make Vittoria fall in love with him.[41] This account of the Saint-Germain-en-Laye affaire shows how the link between tragedy and comedy in relation to the wars of religion was already there in reality for Bruno to observe. Considering that Bruno's quarrel with the Calvinists, as mentioned above, was principally related to their denial of the importance of good deeds, it is also not inconceivable that he would have regarded with a degree of dark humour the fact that the main person ending up as the scapegoat for this broadly 'Protestant' plot should be named 'Boniface'.

Another incident in this account would also no doubt have struck Bruno as both paradoxical and amusing:

> Grandry, another of the accused conspirators, was reported by several witnesses to have learned *how to turn other metals into gold* during a visit to Switzerland as a member of a diplomatic mission and was alleged to have agreed to use this skill to finance the flight to Sedan. (Kingdon, pp. 195–96; Goulart, fols 165^{r}, 175^{v}, 187^{v}-188^{r}, 195^{v})

Though the accounts in Goulart mostly refer to silver alone being turned into gold, this is surely enough to provide the inspiration for the Bartolomeo/alchemist plot in *Candelaio*. The fact that this alchemic skill was supposed to have been learned in Switzerland is an additional link between this kind of practice and the Calvinist side.

The 'Candelaio' as Anti-Protestant Metaphor

An awareness of the presence in the *Candelaio* of powerful allusions to the French wars of religion must necessarily affect our reading of the play. It shows Bruno adopting a position that fits in with his own views on religion and society and has the further advantage of pleasing his Valois patrons: namely, that the Protestant (and especially Calvinist) religion was introducing a dangerous element of disturbance in society, not only by directly causing division and strife, but also by undermining belief in the importance of good works, which Bruno saw as a fundamental basis for civil society.[42] Accordingly, it is possible to see all three main characters as a satire on different but related aspects of Protestantism: Manfurio almost ontologically, simply by his being a pedant; and Bonifacio and Bartolomeo by wishing to obtain certain benefits by some form of supernatural intervention, rather than acquiring them through their effort and works. These befuddled characters are legitimately gulled by the more wily operators who, though morally reprehensible themselves, nonetheless restore peace and the correct functioning of the commonwealth. The avengers are appropriately led by the painter Gioan Bernardo (a Bruno alter ego, not only in his initials and the fact that his name is virtually an anagram of 'Giordano Bruno', but also in his role as the most enlightened character of all). His job is to create *pictures* of the Virgin Mary and the Saints — a concise exemplification of the fictional and pragmatic character of official religion according to Bruno.[43]

Critics have already identified this blend of elitism and pragmatism as an important aspect linking the *Candelaio* to Bruno's philosophical works.[44] Perhaps it also explains the connection that Bruno himself declared to exist between the *Candelaio* and his work on the art of memory, *De umbris idearum*.[45] The only contribution that can be given here to this complex question is to point out the convergence between the anti-Protestant meaning we have been uncovering in Bruno's play and the reception of his *De umbris* in English Protestant circles: the publication in 1584 of Alexander Dickson's *De umbra rationis et judicii*, based on Bruno's *De umbris*, was immediately met by an *Antidicsonus* and a fierce attack on *impia Dicsoni artificiosa memoria* by the Puritan and Ramist scholar William Perkins.[46]

A 'commemorative' genre?

On the basis of our discussion above, it is fair to conclude that in alluding to Bruno's *Candelaio* in *Twelfth Night* and in *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*, all plays characterized by satire against Puritans, both Shakespeare and Ben Jonson show an awareness of the religious polemics that informed Bruno's play. This is not to say, of course, that they subscribed unreservedly to Bruno's views on the relationship between religion and society, especially since his stance is a strange mixture of the reactionary and the liberal, and of philanthropy and misanthropy. Bruno's assurance to the Oxford Vice-Chancellor that, irrespective of status, he favoured that person whose behaviour in society was 'pacatior, civilior, fidelior, et utilior' [more peaceable, civil, loyal and useful] seems entirely laudable, until we reflect on the ethical implications of actually 'choosing' who was and was not

'useful' to society and of determining their fate accordingly.[47] On the other hand, Bruno's distinction between 'sins' and what we might today call 'crimes' seems far ahead of his time:

> [Giove] vuole che de gli errori, in comparazione, massimi sieno quelli che sono in pregiudicio della republica; minori quelli che sono in pregiudicio d'un altro particolare interessato; minimo sia quello ch'accade tra doi d'accordo; nullo è quello, che non procede a mal essempio o male effetto, e che da gl' impeti accidentali accadeno nella complessione dell'individuo. (*Spaccio*, pp. 657–58)[48]
>
> [And he [Jove] wants us to know that, in comparison with others, those errors are the greatest which have a prejudicial effect upon the republic; that those prejudicial to a particular and interested party are lesser errors; that that which occurs between two individuals in agreement with one another is the least error; and that those sins are nought which arise in the complexion of the individual from his accidental impulses, and do not proceed to set a bad example or have a bad effect. (*Expulsion*, p. 148)]

Even in this list, though, the exact implications of placing the well-being of the 'republica' ahead of that of its individual members may make us pause. Shakespeare might have felt the same: the gulling of Malvolio casts much more of a dark shadow on the overall comedy of *Twelfth Night* than is the case with the gulling of the negative characters in *Candelaio*. In this respect at least, Shakespeare is further ahead than Bruno, having realized that the repression of individual liberty, on whichever side, was likely to lead to even greater problems than those that the repression itself was meant to avoid. In the same way, it is hard to imagine Shakespeare subscribing to Bruno's intellectual and spiritual elitism. On the other hand, Ben Jonson accurately captured this aspect from the *Candelaio* and reproduced it in his 1615 masque *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists*, in Mercury's indignation towards those who, 'as if the title of philosopher, that creature of glory, were to be fetched out of a furnace, abuse the curious and credulous nation of metal-men through the world, and make Mercury their instrument'.[49]

However, there is one more intriguing possibility when considering the rationale behind the reference to *Candelaio* in precisely those plays by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. The St Bartholomew's Day massacre took place in 1572. Bruno's *Candelaio* was published on the tenth anniversary, in 1582. Was there a line of plays, more or less directly emanating from Bruno's *Candelaio*, that commemorated each decade from the French massacre of 1572?

Memory of the massacre of course lived on. As noted by John Creaser in his edition of *Bartholomew Fair*, '[a]longside the Fair's festivity, the massacre was commemorated every year in London; booksellers, for example, displayed only bibles.'[50] For a literary antecedent of such commemorations at ten-year intervals we need look no further than Niccolò Machiavelli, an author who was to become a cultural hate-figure in the debate sparked by the St Bartholomew massacre, and whose 1504 *Decennale primo* was inspired by the tenth anniversary of the French invasion of Italy in 1494. And we do know of 'serious' plays on this subject, starting with Christopher Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, which is generally dated 1592–1593:[51] 'Other plays were written up to the end of the seventeenth century. Webster and Henry Shirley wrote

"Guise" plays (1653) which are now lost, Dryden and Lee wrote *The Duke of Guise* in 1682, and Lee produced *Massacre of Paris* in 1689.'[52]

But what about comedy? How do you turn a massacre into a comedy, and above all why would you want to do so? 'In tristitia hilaris, in hilaritate tristis', reads the frontispiece of the *Candelaio*. Was there a line of specifically English playwrights who were willing to pick up Bruno's gauntlet? *Love's Labour's Lost* is an obvious candidate for 1592. There is no indication as to its date, but it is from the right period. Its characters' names notoriously refer to the French wars of religion. And it has been insistently — though far from unanimously — linked to Giordano Bruno.[53] Above all, at the end of the play Biron is ordered to do just that (as a charitable exercise): 'To move wild laughter in the throat of death' (v.2.832).

The first undoubted reference to *Twelfth Night* is the record of a performance in February 1602, and the play prominently refers to a festivity in its title (situated in the height of winter rather than of summer).[54] In his discussion of the cultural influence of the St Bartholomew massacre on Shakespeare, Robert White does not mention *Twelfth Night*, but reminds us of some useful facts:

> Shakespeare never refers directly to the Massacre of St Bartholomew, so evidence for its influence over his art must be circumstantial. But there is so much of such evidence that the argument is compelling. We do know for sure that by 1604, and for an indeterminate time before, Shakespeare lodged in the house of Christopher Mountjoy, a French Huguenot living in the Huguenot area of London. Shakespeare became so close to the family that he was asked to intercede diplomatically in the courtship of Mountjoy's daughter.[55]

In *Twelfth Night*, when Maria first hatches the plot against her mistress's steward she refers to him as 'Monsieur Malvolio'. She goes on to describe him as 'a kind of puritan' and Sir Andrew Aguecheek expresses the intention of attacking him on that account, a wish so stupidly and gratuitously aggressive that it prompts Sir Toby to question his 'exquisite reason'.[56]

If there was such a line of comedies, did it continue under James VI of Scotland and I of England, a monarch directly related to the Guises, who were among the main protagonists of the massacre in Paris? In terms of chronology, the two plays by Ben Jonson that have been linked to Bruno's *Candelaio* straddle the fortieth anniversary of the massacre. *The Alchemist* was printed in 1612, and contains internal references that date the action explicitly to 1610.[57] This is interesting in itself because that was the year of the assassination of Henri of Navarre, who was then Henri IV of France.[58] This shocking event could be seen as the epilogue of the French wars of religion from the previous century. It was directly related to the St Bartholomew massacre, since it was on the occasion of Navarre's wedding to Marguerite of Valois that his Protestant followers were gathered in Paris and could thus be 'conveniently' slaughtered (along with several thousand other Huguenots in the capital and the rest of France). The play also contains repeated historical references to the protagonists of religious strife in France and the Netherlands from the 1570s and the 1580s — Valois, Medici (IV.1.58–59); Alva (IV.3.30) — as well as to England's moment of greatest danger, the Spanish Armada (IV.4.29). The 'message' put across by *The Alchemist* is retrospectively the same as the one Bruno was addressing to the English readers

of his *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* nearly thirty years before: that the dire events that had taken place in France could so easily (have) happen(ed) in England too.

Bartholomew Fair was performed in 1614 (though it was printed only much later). It not only contains a character who is called Bartholomew, like the *Candelaio*, but the first lines of the play proper insist on the connection between this name and the day on which the action is set and which gives the play its title. Moreover, the already-mentioned speech that warns (in a comic situation) against a reiteration of the 'French Barthol'mew, parent of the Massacre', is spoken by a disguised Justice Overdo as he is undergoing a taster of Bonifacio's and Malvolio's 'punishment', a fuller version of which will befall him later on.[59] In both these cases, as with Bruno's 'dog days', Ben Jonson is picking up clues as to the historical referent of the *Candelaio* and making their meaning explicit by linking them unambiguously to the massacre that occurred on 24 August 1572.

Conclusion

It would be a particularly useful result if the discussion offered in this chapter could help date some plays more specifically to the second year of their respective decades and, at the same time, uncover a genealogical line of comedies commemorating one of the worst instances of sectarian violence in the early modern period. In fact, a comparative analysis of such plays could even highlight an emergent awareness of the issue of human rights in the early modern world. This is already beginning to show in the line that goes from *Candelaio* to *Twelfth Night* and *Bartholomew Fair*. Bruno hardly seems aware that his elitism (with its consequent emphasis on intellectual freedom, but only for those who deserve it) and his pragmatism (the requisite of being above all 'useful' to society) were inevitably on a collision course. On the other hand, in *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare is painfully conscious of the difficulty of creating a society capable of accommodating everyone — and also of the danger of *not* doing so. Finally, in *Bartholomew Fair* the focus is on the duties of magistrates and the need to avoid what we would now call 'a miscarriage of justice'. When well-meaning Justice Overdo has to reconsider his first discovered 'enormity', regarding the character of Jordan Knockem, he comically congratulates himself on avoiding the errors that he might have made if he had not double-checked his initial information or, as he puts it, 'if I had not played an after-game o' discretion' (II.3.31). In truly Brunian fashion, the most important lesson to be learned here consists in a serious truth spoken in jest.[60]

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Hilary Gatti, 'Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio* and Possible Echoes in Shakespeare and Ben Jonson', *Viator*, 43 (2012), 357–76.
2. Cf. Hilary Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge. Giordano Bruno in England* (London: Routledge, 1989), Appendix II, 'Bruno-Shakespeare Criticism', pp. 168–88. See also her *Il teatro della coscienza: Giordano Bruno e 'Amleto'* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998). A shorter version of the latter work can be found as 'Bruno and Shakespeare: *Hamlet*' in Hilary Gatti, *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 140–60.
3. Hilary Gatti, 'Il *Candelaio* di Giordano Bruno e *The Alchemist* di Ben Jonson', in *Teatri barocchi: tragedie, commedie, pastorali, nella drammaturgia europea fra '500 e '600,* ed. by Silvia Carandini

(Rome: Bulzoni, 2000), pp. 323–37; now as 'Bruno's *Candelaio* and Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*', in her *Essays on Giordano Bruno*, pp. 161–71.

4. Gatti, 'Bruno's *Candelaio* and Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist*', p. 162.
5. The fortune of the *Candelaio* in seventeenth-century France, on the other hand, is well documented, and includes two anonymous translations into French (one from the beginning of the seventeenth century and circulating only in manuscript, the other printed by Pierre Menard in 1633), as well as imitations or allusions by authors like Cyrano de Bergerac, Molière and La Fontaine. Cf. Alessandra Preda, *Ilarità e tristezza: percorsi francesi del 'Candelaio' di Giordano Bruno, 1582–1665* (Milan: LED, 2007).
6. Gatti, 'Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio* and Possible Echoes', p. 366. See *Twelfth Night*, II.5 and IV.2 and *Candelaio*, IV.6 and V.15–23. (In this chapter I refer to the text of the *Candelaio* in *Il teatro italiano*. II: *La commedia del Cinquecento*, ed. by Guido Davico Bonino, 3 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1978), III, 133–292).
7. See below, p. 127.
8. See for instance Stephen Greenblatt's introduction to *Twelfth Night* in *The Norton Shakespeare*, Gen. Ed. S. Greenblatt (New York: Norton, 1997), p. 1763. All Shakespearean quotations in this chapter are from this volume.
9. Translations from the *Candelaio* are based on Giordano Bruno, *The Candle Bearer*, trans. by J. R. Hale, in *The Genius of the Italian Theater*, ed. by Eric Bentley (New York: Mentor Books, 1964), pp. 194–314, with some changes as required. The same title is used in other English translations available in print. However, while the term *candelaio* ultimately hints at Bonifacio's homosexuality (notwithstanding his married status and his additional pursuit of courtesans), there are also clear indications that this is Bonifacio's actual profession: see the character's introduction in the 'Proprologo' (p. 151) and Gioan Bernardo's bawdy joke in 1.8, where he reproaches Bonifacio for turning from a *candelaio* into an *orefice* (i.e. a goldsmith). Therefore the English title of the play should be 'The Candle-Maker', which is how Bonifacio is described in Hale's translation of the Proprologue (p. 207).
10. Ben Jonson's texts are quoted from *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, Gen. Eds David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012 — henceforth *Works of Ben Jonson*). For *Bartholomew Fair* (ed. by John Creaser), see vol. IV: *1611–1616*, pp. 253–428.
11. As for the character's surname ('Knockem' or 'Knockhum'), it accurately sums up contemporary perceptions of how Bruno had treated his host country in the first of his Italian dialogues, *La cena de le ceneri*: 'Dicono di voi, Teofilo, che in quella vostra *Cena* tassate e ingiuriate tutta una città, tutta una provinzia, tutto un regno.' (*De la causa, principio e uno*, in *Dialoghi metafisici*, vol. I of *Dialoghi italiani*, ed. by Giovanni Gentile, 3rd edn by Giovanni Aquilecchia, 2 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1985 — henceforth BDI), pp. 173–342 (p. 204)). The name of a character in *The Alchemist*, Dapper the clerk, also immediately reminds Bruno scholars of their subject's brush with Oxford academics in 1583. See George Abbott's derogatory account in 1604 of 'that Italian Didapper' and of the course of lectures he had given at that university twenty-one years earlier (cf. Robert McNulty, 'Bruno at Oxford', *Renaissance News*, 13 (1960), pp. 300–05).
12. Italian quotations are from *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, in *Dialoghi morali*, BDI, II, 547–831 (pp. 611 and 618). For the English translation, see *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, ed. and trans. by Arthur D. Imerti (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964), pp. 115 and 121.
13. Cf. Hilary Gatti, 'Giordano Bruno and the Stuart Court Masques', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 48 (1995), 809–42, now in her *Essays on Giordano Bruno*, pp. 172–200. In this article the author suggests 'that Bruno's presence can be detected in other Stuart masques as well, going back to their beginnings in the reign of James I' (p. 174). This includes masques by Ben Jonson (pp. 180–82).
14. *Works of Ben Jonson*, IV, 266.
15. B. Tschischwitz, *Shakspere-Forschungen*, 3 vols in 1 (Halle: Barthel, 1868), I: *Shakspere's Hamlet, vorzugsweise nach historischen Gesichtspuncten erläutert*. For the parallels mentioned here see pp. 53, 52 and 62 respectively.
16. For the *Cabala*, see BDI, II, 833–912.
17. On this second parallel, see Gatti, *Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, p. 161. The idea of the

perpetual vicissitude of things — with reference to Ecclesiastes, 'nothing new under the sun' — is a signature theme in Bruno. This is reflected in the title of several critical studies not only of his philosophy but also of his play. Cf. Anna Laura Puliafito Bleuel, *Comica pazzia: Vicissitudine e destini umani nel 'Candelaio' di Bruno* (Florence: Olschki, 2007); Fabio Raimondi, *Il sigillo della vicissitudine: Giordano Bruno e la liberazione della potenza* (Padua: Unipress, 1999); Maria Elena Severini, 'Vicissitudine e tempo nel pensiero di Giordano Bruno', in *La mente di Giordano Bruno*, ed. by Fabrizio Meroi (Florence: Olschki, 2004), pp. 225–58.

18. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II.5.152–77, III.2.66–68, III.4.17–30; II.5.97–122.
19. For the development of this story, see *Bartholomew Fair*, IV.6.135–39 and Act V, *passim*.
20. Cf. *Spaccio*, pp. 683–96 (esp. pp. 690–91).
21. Cf. II.3.125–31. Later Maria also compares Malvolio to 'a pedant that keeps a school i'th'church' (III.2.64–65). Cf. below Bruno's attack on Protestants as 'pedants'.
22. 'Argumento ed ordine della commedia', pp. 141–42: 'Son tre materie principali intessute insieme ne la presente comedia: l'amor di Bonifacio, l'alchimia di Bartolomeo e la pedantaria di Manfurio. Però, per la cognizion distinta de' suggetti, raggion dell'ordine ed evidenza dell'artificiosa testura, rapportiamo prima, da per lui, l'insipido amante, secondo il sordido avaro, terzo il goffo pedante: de' quali l'insipido non è senza goffaria e sordidezza, il sordido è parimente insipido e goffo, ed il goffo non è men sordido ed insipido che goffo.'
23. Cf. Gatti, *Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, pp. 29–31. For a study focusing on the points of contact between Bruno's philosophy and Protestantism, see Hilary Gatti, 'Giordano Bruno and the Protestant Ethic', in *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher of the Renaissance*, ed. by H. Gatti (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 145–66. Other studies on Bruno and religion include Giovanni Gentile, *Giordano Bruno e il pensiero del Rinascimento*, 2nd edn (Florence: Vallecchi, 1925); Paul Richard Blum, 'D'ogni legge nemico e d'ogni fede: Giordano Brunos Verhältnis zu den Konfessionen', in *Renaissance, Reformation. Gegensätze und Gemeinsamkeiten*, ed. by August Buck (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), pp. 65–75; Michele Ciliberto, 'Nascita dello *Spaccio*: Bruno e Lutero', introduction to G. Bruno, *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1985), pp. 7–59, and *La ruota del tempo* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1986); Alfonso Ingegno, *La sommersa nave della religione. Studio sulla polemica anticristiana del Bruno* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1985), and *Regia pazzia. Bruno lettore di Calvino* (Urbino: Quattro venti, 1987); Saverio Ricci, '"Fede" e "dissimulazione". Bruno lettore di Machiavelli nella crisi delle guerre di religione', *Filologia e critica*, 25 (2000), 245–62; Nuccio Ordine, *Giordano Bruno, Ronsard et la Religion* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2004); S. Miglietti, 'Bruno e la Riforma protestante. Un confronto tra lo *Spaccio* e testi di Lutero, Calvino e Melantone', in *Favole, metafore, storie. Seminario su Giordano Bruno*, ed. by Olivia Catanorchi and Diego Pirillo (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), pp. 157–225; Diego Pirillo, *Filosofia ed eresia nell'Inghilterra del tardo Cinquecento: Bruno, Sidney e i dissidenti religiosi italiani* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2010). For an important discussion that quotes passages from Bruno extensively in English, see Frances A. Yates, 'The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3 (1939–1940), 181–207, now in her *Lull & Bruno* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), pp. 151–79. Rosanna Camerlingo, *Teatro e teologia. Marlowe, Bruno e i Puritani* (Naples: Liguori, 1999) finds similarities between Bruno's indictment of Protestants and the blasphemous opinions ascribed to Christopher Marlowe by Richard Baines (pp. 49-75).
24. Cf. G. Bruno, *De l'infinito, universo e mondi*, BDI, I, 343–537 (pp. 385–87).
25. I have changed the last word from Imerti's translation, which reads 'behavior', to reflect the precise meaning of 'conversazione' and to indicate that Bruno's concern is with the preservation of civil society rather than with individual behaviour.
26. See also *Spaccio*, pp. 660–65, and n. 31 below.
27. The original reads 'Candelaio' and 'ombre dell'Idee', with no italics.
28. See also the end of the 'Bidello' speech ('Volete ch'io vel dimostri? desiderate vederlo?'); Bonifacio's bafflement at Gioan Bernardo's bawdy joke on *candelaio* and *orefice*: 'pur queste parabole, qualche dì, l'intenderemo' (I.9); '*Eruditis non sunt operienda arcana*' (II.1); the metatheatrical ending, in which Manfurio realizes that he is a character in a play.
29. See the second and third parts of the second dialogue in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, pp. 683–96 and 711–18. See also above, p. 123, for a possible connection between these passages and the prologue to *The Alchemist*.

30. See above, p. 119.
31. See for instance, in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, the reference to 'quella poltronesca setta di pedanti, che senza ben fare secondo la legge divina e naturale, si stimano e vogliono essere stimati religiosi grati a' dei, e dicono che il far bene è bene, il far male è male; ma non per ben che si faccia o mal che non si faccia, si viene ad essere degno e grato a' dei; ma per sperare e credere secondo il catechismo loro' — a passage that the anonymous contemporary annotator of the copy of the *Spaccio* now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples correctly understood as being 'contra Iustitiam Fidei' (cf. *Spaccio*, p. 623 and editor's note). Poliinnio is called 'sacrilego pedante' in *De la causa*, p. 215. See also the *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo*, p. 852.
32. Vincenzo Spampanato, *Vita di Giordano Bruno* (Messina: Principato, 1921), pp. 294–98, 632–35.
33. EEBO, accessed 3 May 2015. These texts include the 1588 English translation of a work on the French wars of religion by the Huguenot leader François de La Noue (*STC* 15215), and an augmented edition dated 1608 of a work by Jean-François Le Petit, where the term is applied to another instance of religious outrages occurring under Valois rule, this time in the Netherlands in 1583. This latter example further tells us how, starting in 1586, this episode of 'French fury' was commemorated each year with a 'solemn procession' on 17 January, the anniversary of the Duke of Anjou and Alençon's attack on Antwerp that led to his expulsion from his former Dukedom of Brabant (cf. *A General History of the Netherlands*, *STC* 12374, p. 915, image 469).
34. See *Spaccio*, editor's notes, pp. 720–24.
35. This warning was of course also addressed by Bruno to his English hosts. On Bruno's attempt in the *Spaccio* to link the interests of the French and the English monarchies, see Yates, 'Religious Policy', p. 167. We should note that in an etymological sense Bruno's phrase 'questo Regno Partenopeo' could be applied to England as the realm of the Virgin Queen (cf. Greek *parthenos*, 'virgin').
36. Cf. Gatti 2012, p. 366, and p. 119 above.
37. Cf. *Candelaio*, p. 159, editor's note.
38. Simon Goulart, *Memoires de l'estat de France, sous Charles neufiesme*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Meidelbourg: Henrich Wolf [but Geneva: Eustache Vignon], 1578), III, fols 143^{r}-[203^{v}]. On this and other contemporary publications on the massacre see Robert M. Kingdon, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres — 1572–1576* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
39. See Goulart's introduction to the trial documents, on the rumour 'qu'on devoit bien tost faire à sainct Germain une autre journee de S. Barthelemi' (fol. 143^{v}). This fear is repeatedly cited in Navarre's defence statements at the trial: 'je fus adverti par quelqu'un de mes bons amis qu'on vouloit faire une seconde S. Barthelemi: & que M. le Duc & moi n'i serions non plus espargnez que les autres' (fols 160^{v}-161^{r}); 'Le Roy de Navarre a dit avoir eu certain advertissement que le Roi de Pologne [i.e. the brother of Charles IX and future Henri III of France] avoit donné charge à un nommé le Gast de le tuer, & qu'on devoit faire une seconde sainct Barthelemy.' (fol. 181^{v})
40. Kingdon, *Myths*, p. 194. Subsequent page references to this work are given in brackets within the text, with the addition of the fol. number from Goulart, if relevant. The emphasis is mine throughout. It should be noted that La Mole was in fact the lover of Navarre's wife, 'la reine Margot'.
41. See also *Candelaio*, v.17.
42. There is no shortage of statements by Bruno on this topic. See above, p. 124. Bruno would also express this view freely in conversation: Guillaume Cotin, Librarian to the Abbey of St Victor, notes in his diary entry for 7 December 1585 how Bruno, in expressing his hope that the doctrinal divisions that were causing the religious troubles would soon be overcome, had confessed that 'souverainement il déteste les hérétiques de France et d'Angleterre, en ce qu'il[s] mesprisent les bonnes œuvres et preschent la certitude de leur foy et justification; car toute la chrestienté tend à bien vivre' (quoted from Spampanato, *Vita*, p. 652; first published in Lucien Auvray, 'Giordano Bruno à Paris d'après le témoignage d'un contemporain (1585–1586)', *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 27 (1900), 288–301).
43. 'La mia arte è di depengere, e donar a gli occhii de' mundani la imagine di Nostro Signore, di Nostra Madonna e d'altri Santi di paradiso.' (*Candelaio*, v.23)
44. Puliafito Bleuel, *Comica pazzia*, p. 33, lists 'l'individuazione in nuce di una virtù operativa che si attua solo nella fatica del suo esercizio' among a series of motifs from Bruno's Italian dialogues

whose presence is already felt in *Candelaio*. See also Eugenio Canone, *Il dorso e il grembo dell'eterno. Percorsi della filosofia di Giordano Bruno* (Pisa-Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2003), p. 45.

45. See above, pp. 124–25.
46. For these and related primary texts see *STC* 6823; 19064; 21809; 19065. For a discussion, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 266–79; Giovanni Aquilecchia, *Le opere italiane di Giordano Bruno: critica testuale e oltre* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1991), pp. 87–97.
47. Cf. the letter to the Vice-Chancellor and members of Oxford University prefaced to copies of Bruno's *Explicatio triginta sigillorum* (London, 1583).
48. This passage certainly elicited the scorn of the same reader of the Neapolitan copy of the *Spaccio*, who annotates: 'Unde istam theologiam Nolanus? Certe non ex Dei verbo; ex Mercurio et Gentilismo.'
49. *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*, ed. by Martin Butler, in *Works of Ben Jonson*, IV, 429–43, ll. 36–39.
50. *Bartholomew Fair*, p. 331, note to ll. 118–19.
51. Camerlingo, *Teatro e teologia* (p. 184) additionally links Marlowe's homosexual king Edward II to Henri III and the French wars of religion. As for the *Massacre at Paris*, one of the most memorable features of this play, as well as of the original massacre, was the killing of the philosopher Ramus. On the cultural influence of this episode, and on its possible echo in the death of 'Cinna the poet' in *Julius Caesar*, see Robert White, 'The Cultural Impact of the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day', in *Early Modern Civil Discourses*, ed. by Jennifer Richards (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 183–99 (p. 190). Notwithstanding his tragic death, Ramus was one of Bruno's favourite Protestant bugbears, whom he stigmatizes as a 'francese arcipedante' in dialogue three of *De la causa* (p. 260).
52. White, 'Cultural Impact', p. 190.
53. Cf. Frances A. Yates, *A Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936); Amelia Buono Hodgart, '*Love's Labour's Lost* e il *Candelaio*', *Studi secenteschi*, 19 (1978), 1–58; Gilberto Sacerdoti, *Sacrificio e sovranità: Teologia e politica nell'Europa di Shakespeare e Bruno* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002). See also White, 'Cultural Impact', pp. 192–94.
54. Cf. the excerpt from John Manningham's diary dated 'Febr. 1601' (New Style 1602), in *The Norton Shakespeare*, p. 3334.
55. White, 'Cultural Impact', p. 191.
56. *Twelfth Night*, II.3.120–30.
57. As in Ananias's speech mentioned in n. 58 below, Jonson requires his readers to work out the date by doing a little maths. In IV.4.30 Dame Pliant says that she was born three years after the Armada incident, i.e. in 1591. We already know from II.6.31 that she is 'But nineteen at the most'. This sets the action in 1610.
58. Navarre was killed on 14 May 1610, and *The Alchemist* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 3 October that year. C. M. Hathaway points out that a speech by Ananias dates the action precisely to 'the second day of the fourth week | In the eighth month [...] | The year of the last patience of the saints, | Six hundred and ten' (cf. *Alchemist*, V.5.102–05). Hathaway calculates that, by the English system of counting months from 1 March, this refers to 24 (or more exactly 23) October (Cf. B. Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. by Charles Montgomery Hathaway (New York: Holt, 1903), p. 13). This is a little odd, since it sets the play after the date in which it was entered in the Stationers' Register. However, if we counted the months of the year from January, as was by then the use in most of Europe and in Scotland (and on some informal occasions in England), the date of the action would be on or around 24 August, St Bartholomew's Day.
59. See *Bartholomew Fair*, II.6.115–19 and IV.1, and p. 126 above.
60. It seems only appropriate to end this chapter with a reference to one more perceptive study by Hilary Gatti, which begins with the discussion of a passage in Bruno's *Spaccio* on how court fools like Momus are able to influence political decisions by speaking 'sotto specie di gioco'. See Hilary Gatti, 'Nonsense and Liberty: The Language Games of the Fool in Shakespeare's *King Lear*', in *Nonsense and Other Senses*, ed. by Elisabetta Tarantino with Carlo Caruso (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), pp. 147–60.

CHAPTER 9

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Bruno, Charlewood and Munday: Politics, Culture and Religion during Bruno's Time in England

Tiziana Provvidera

It is exactly twenty years since Giovanni Aquilecchia published all the extant documents and contemporary evidence referring to Giordano Bruno's stay in England from spring 1583 to the autumn of 1585.[1] Since then, almost nothing new has emerged from the archives on the topic, except a dispatch sent to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, one of the most influential members of the Elizabethan court and government, providing information on the philosopher's death in the Campo de' Fiori at the hands of the Roman Inquisition in 1600.[2] Yet, despite the constantly growing number of full-length studies on Bruno, there remain, even today, a number of problematic issues and unresolved questions concerning his sojourn in England. First of all, the philosopher's testimony to the Venetian inquisitors when interrogated about his role at the household of the French ambassador Michel de Castelnau, seigneur de Mauvissière, has never appeared completely convincing or exhaustive.[3] This has led to the circulation of a number of theories about either Bruno's alleged political 'mission' in England on behalf of Henri III,[4] or about his ties with the English intelligence services directed by Sir Francis Walsingham,[5] some of which are contentious, if not groundless. No clearer to scholars is the ambiguity of the personal and intellectual relations which the Nolan seems to have established at the time with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as well as with his illustrious nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, whose markedly puritan faith appears in sharp contrast with Bruno's views on Protestant theology in the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* [Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast] (1584) — despite it being addressed to Sidney himself — and in the *Cabala del cavallo Pegaseo* [The Cabala of Pegasus] (1585). Given this context, an attempt to interpret Bruno's political agenda in England might come from the analysis of the two versions of the *Cena de le ceneri* [The Ash Wednesday Supper] (1584), which went through two printings in a very short time. The authorial variations occurring on sheet D of the *Cena* would suggest, in fact, that Bruno had a very close affiliation with the Earl of Leicester and his clientage network and that this consequently moulded his strong anti-Protestant stance.[6] A more accurate evaluation of this latter circumstance could shed light on another question which has hitherto proved problematic, namely Bruno's decision to entrust

his philosophical dialogues to John Charlewood, a printer of popular literature apparently with little typographical experience of Italian texts.[7]

Finally, there is the debatable issue of the Brunian legacy, in other words to what extent the Nolan's ideas might have influenced modern English literature, whether scientific and philosophical texts or the greatest dramaturgical works of the last years of Elizabeth's reign.[8] As expected, the scant documentary evidence of Bruno's presence in England initially led some scholars to suggest a cautious approach to the matter.[9] Yet, if in 1989 Hilary Gatti could speak of the total lack of any mention of Bruno's name in either the public or private papers of the prominent figures of the Elizabethan cultural milieu,[10] about twelve years later she acknowledged that the discovery of the Essex document could eventually provide a telling historical and exegetical contribution to some crucial questions linked to Bruno's stay in England, including his relationship with Christopher Marlowe and Shakespeare.[11] Unquestionably, the document attests first and foremost to the likely interest of the Earl of Essex — who in the final years of the 1590s established close contacts with Italy in the hope of playing a part upon 'the stage of Christendom'[12] — in Bruno's execution for heresy. Furthermore, given the importance of Essex within political and literary English court circles, and the rapidity with which the news of the Italian philosopher's death spread among their members, the record might serve to counterbalance the broad assertion that 'the news of Bruno's burning at the stake spread slowly throughout Europe, without provoking any particular reaction'.[13] Against the characteristic prejudices of many historiographical approaches, which constantly risk being denied or overtaken by opposite arguments, I wish to advocate here the industry and scrupulosity of archival research, which is always based on more conclusive evidence rather than on speculation and/or subjective interpretations.

Analogously, although the 'pista puritana', namely the analysis of Bruno's English context with the main emphasis on the religious conflict between Anglicans and Puritans, is nowadays still the most fully explored field of scholarly research on Bruno,[14] to overlook the role played by the English Catholics in the domestic and international events during the same years would result at best in a partial approach to the question. Despite the evident distance which separates his stances, both political and doctrinal, from the Catholic positions of his day, in the eyes of his English contemporaries Bruno was nevertheless a former Dominican monk who had been on good terms with Henri III, Mary Queen of Scots' brother-in-law, and had spent time in France at precisely the time when that country had become the ideal location from which to launch a Catholic attack on Protestant England. Nor should it be forgotten that the first documentary evidence relating to Bruno's stay in England consists of a dispatch sent by Elizabeth's ambassador in Paris, Henry Cobham, to Francis Walsingham, principal secretary to Queen Elizabeth, regarding the not very 'commendable' character of the Nolan philosopher's religious position.[15] Such a judgement was possibly motivated not so much by his dabbling with Calvinism in Geneva, as by his previously belonging to a religious order that was in charge of the rigorous vigilance of Catholic orthodoxy and the repression of the so-called heretical phenomena of a Protestant kind. Ultimately, the stage from which Bruno observed and judged English society was the household of an

illustrious voice of Catholicism in England, who was well acquainted with the main leaders of the Catholic circles both within and outside the court, as well as actively and secretly involved in the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland and, possibly, England. As John Bossy put it, 'the fear of a Catholic enterprise in support of Mary caused Elizabeth more alarm than anything else in her reign',[16] and it was during 1581–1583 that the Crown began to harden its policies towards the Catholic religion. Since the members of both Parliament and the Privy Council saw Mary Queen of Scots's claim to Elizabeth's throne as the basis established by Catholic princes and religious authorities from which to threaten England's political and religious security, in the months following Bruno's stay the French Embassy in London was put under close surveillance by Walsingham and his staff. For all these reasons, the present chapter ultimately sits within a now established trend of scholarship on the cultural and political analysis of English Catholicism and its relations with the Elizabethan establishment.

The historical context which frames the news of Bruno's arrival in England is marked by the Catholic challenge to the Queen's right to rule. Despite Elizabeth's reluctance to stir up religious controversy, such events as the arrival of the Jesuit priests Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons, as well as the many plots — whether real or not — devised by the more radical members of the Catholic nobility with the aid of the Pope and the King of Spain, to depose her and to reclaim England for the old faith, had finally set in motion the movement of the English crown against the Catholics. The definitive failure of the tortuous marriage negotiations (1579–84) between Francis, Duke of Anjou and Alençon, and the English sovereign, an alliance that might at least have produced a legitimate heir to the English throne, an heir able to preserve Elizabeth's religious settlement, had exacerbated the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants both at court and throughout the realm. Since the bull of excommunication and deposition issued by Pope Pius V in February 1570 against Elizabeth — whom he called 'praetensa Angliae regina' [the pretender to the English throne] and 'haereticorum fautricem' [fomenter of heresy] — absolved all Englishmen of their oath and obligation of loyalty to her, Elizabeth's England was torn apart by such widespread religious pluralism that religion itself turned into a political weapon.[17] Things became even worse almost ten years later, when the Roman Catholic authorities, presumably on behalf of the Pope, endorsed the assassination of Elizabeth, claiming it would be 'meritorious' and a 'good work' from a spiritual and political point of view.[18] Such an extreme position can easily explain why, in a State in which loyalty to the Queen and to the Church of England were necessarily bound together, open adherence to the Catholic faith could potentially be liable to an indictment for high treason at any time.[19]

In this context, to deal with the several religious and ideological identities which characterised the Tudor age would be extremely difficult, particularly if one recalls that England was a country where, in less than half a century, four sovereigns had reformed the State and religion according to four different creeds, and to which the formula *cuius regio eius religio* had applied absolutely. In order to comply with the Act of Uniformity, for instance, in Elizabethan England Catholics could choose either outward conformity, that is the attendance at church services while holding privately Catholic religious beliefs, or recusancy, namely the refusal to attend

the required church services, in which case they risked fines and imprisonment. Finally, a Catholic, whether recusant or not, could offer political loyalty to England and the monarch without invalidating his Catholic religious views. This was the standpoint usually adopted by many in the Catholic nobility, who held no particular sympathies for the two extreme groups — papists and puritans — hoping perhaps for a resolution of the deadlock between the 'old religion' and the established Church of England. As a result, the more balanced view developed by Catholic loyalists made Protestant orthodoxy and Catholic conformity two concepts often close and overlapping.[20] This was particularly evident in the 1580s, the crucial period that also included Bruno's stay in England and the publication of his philosophical dialogues. The issue demands that we pay attention to two figures who are somehow close to the Nolan: the printer of his London works, John Charlewood, and Anthony Munday, a prolific writer, editor, dramatist, translator and actor of the age, who, in these same years, was collaborating with Charlewood's press.[21] Tracing these connections might reveal a great deal, not only about the diverse range of people with whom Bruno came into contact, but also about the reason for the malleability of his political and religious positioning within this network of relationships, while at the same time it could also have a significant bearing on the *vexata quaestio* of the revisions of the *Cena*.

Charlewood and Munday's paths first crossed in a print shop in 1577; they soon began a dynamic partnership lasting until 1591–92, during which about half of Munday's publications went to Charlewood, constituting about a quarter of all the latter's projects entered in the Stationers' Registers. Their business partners and religious sympathies were variable and equivocal, and cannot be limited to just one line of interpretation. This is chiefly due to the political and cultural clashes in which writers and their printers engaged, in other words to those circumstances affecting the political figures they were affiliated with or received patronage from. Munday's activity as a writer seems to have begun within a broadly Catholic framework. In 1576 he became an apprentice to the printer John Allde, who had been imprisoned in the Poultry Counter in 1568 for issuing a pro-Catholic text, but in the summer of 1578 he left his master and started travelling throughout Europe, principally to France and Italy. In February 1579, Munday enrolled at the English College in Rome to study Latin, where he stayed until July of the same year, apparently as a secret agent sent to discover the plans of English Catholic refugees. Back in London, he served as one of the Earl of Oxford's secretaries, who had been his patron since the mid-1570s, and to whom he addressed two of his early works.[22] It was perhaps either through Charlewood, who was associated with the Howard Catholic group, or at Allde's shop,[23] that Munday had met Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford, one of several major patrons of literature in his day, as well as a great man of letters and poet himself. Oxford's leading position at court, however, was seriously weakened at the end of 1580, when he broke into an unexpected quarrel with his previous co-religionists and kinsmen Charles Arundel[24] and Henry Howard,[25] who in turn responded with sharp accusations and slanderous libels about him. Despite all the suspicions that the episode had aroused around him, in January 1581 Oxford temporarily regained favour and Munday dedicated a work to him again.[26] The

very next scandal involving the Earl and Anne Vavasour, niece of Henry Howard and one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, caused his imprisonment in the Tower as well as his exile from court. Terrified by the stringent new laws against Catholics, Munday may well have dissociated himself from his crypto-Catholic patron and turned Protestant.[27]

Charlewood's affiliation with the Howards was remarkably similar. In 1580–81 he appears to have been printer to Philip Howard, who at that time had just succeeded to the earldom of Arundel following the death of his maternal grandfather Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel.[28] Three works from Charlewood's press overtly relate to Philip Howard,[29] while two bear dedications to George Gifford, a prominent gentleman pensioner who was one of the Catholic courtiers,[30] a group which included, among others, both Philip and his uncle and tutor Henry Howard. At that time, the two Howards, together with the Earl of Oxford, were actively promoting the marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou, whereas the Protestant opposition to the match was led by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, whose Puritan sympathies were well known. Thus, it might be significant that in 1580 Charlewood printed Munday's *The Paine of Pleasure*, a compilation of poems bearing a short dedication to Lady Douglas Sheffield, the eldest daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Leicester's alleged wife between 1573 and 1578. In defending Lady Douglas after Dudley had broken off the affair, Charlewood, together with Munday, seems to underpin his links with the Oxford-Howard coalition against Leicester.[31] Again, in the summer of 1583 it was Henry Howard who entrusted to the printer the only work issued under his name, *A Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophesies*.[32] The book, a noteworthy rejection of all kinds of prophetic astrology and occultism, was expediently dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, whose spy network focused mainly on Catholic activity.[33] However, the dedication did not prevent the work from being accused of containing 'sundrie heresies and spyces withall of treson'[34] and in early November 1583, its author, being suspected of participation in the Throckmorton plot in support of Mary Stuart together with his kinsmen Charles Arundel and Philip Howard, was committed to the Fleet prison to be interrogated.[35] As internal paranoia against the Catholics began to increase, by the second half of the year Charlewood's dealings with the Howard family could have become dangerous. Thus *A Defensative* would be the last of Charlewood's publications to openly show his connection with the Arundel-Howard clan.[36] In the wake of later significant events, such as the hanging of the Catholic printer William Carter (January 1584), the trial and execution of Francis Throckmorton (May-July 1584), the assassination of William of Orange (July 1584), the appearance of *Leicester's Commonwealth* (August 1584), the Oath of Association (November 1584), Philip Howard's arrest (April 1585), the Parry plot and subsequently Northumberland's alleged suicide in the Tower of London (June 1585), Charlewood, like his partner Munday, would modify his Catholic links by openly positioning himself with the 'loyalists', that is with those supporting the Queen and her parliamentary settlement. Was this stance truly consistent with the political strategy that Bruno, formerly a Catholic friar 'whose religion could not be commended', was going to adopt in those dangerous years? Did the conformity

now displayed by both Charlewood and Munday have anything to do with Bruno's choice of the printer of his London works?

Whether Munday went to Rome as a spy on behalf of the English government, or as he said merely 'to absorb the culture and learn languages',[37] perhaps on Oxford's own advice, the later history of his writings places him in a 'central' position far enough from both papists and puritans, thus representing himself as broadly affiliated with established authority. During 1581–82, he was repeatedly involved with government officials, being active in tracking down priests and other recusants, as well as testifying himself against some of the priests he had met during his stay in Rome. Almost all of Munday's early 1580s pamphlets reporting the news of executions of Catholic prisoners and defending the government's actions came from Charlewood's press. To counteract the widespread dubiety about his religious standing, Munday also addressed works to influential magistrates and dignitaries who are chiefly remembered for their cruel and loathsome activity against Catholics, such as Richard Martin, Richard Young and Richard Topcliffe.[38] Such an attitude might have been prompted not only by the fear of persecution, but also by a pragmatic approach in dealing with the 'marketplace of print', as Alexandra Halasz calls it,[39] within which patrons and dedicatees had to be selected with an eye to making a profit. In an age where living standards were far from high, the publishing trade of early modern England was inevitably affected by monetary considerations. A case in point is Munday's translation of Calvin's *Two Godly and Learned Sermons* (1584), bearing Leicester's coat of arms and a dedication to him. This publication, like almost all the works from Charlewood's press in 1584–85 (Bruno's dialogues included), was not registered and it may well explain the restriction of the patronage system within which the security of writing and publishing 'lasts only as long as the patron is secure and effective'.[40] With the death of Anjou in June 1584 and the definitive fall from court favour of the Howard-Arundel group that had promoted Anjou's marriage with the Queen, the Earl of Leicester was at the height of his eminence. By the same year, Munday had entered his service, a switch that in late 1587 or early 1588 might help him to earn a post as Messenger of her Majesty's Chamber. This context of shifting relationships, however, does not allow us in any way to reach a definite appraisal of a writer's religious sympathies. Likewise, Charlewood's affiliation with the Catholic Howard family did not prevent him from issuing books by the Protestants William Fulke, Thomas Rogers, Edward Dering, Robert Crowley and John Keltridge, without necessarily endorsing the views these texts expressed. To get diverse sources of patronage or printing commissions, as Tracey Hill has persuasively pointed out, was in fact the result of both a deliberate and strenuous effort to build up and develop manifold connections with influential and powerful figures as a means of securing a decent life.[41] In this respect, Charlewood's commitment to the Earl of Oxford may also be revealing in illustrating the difficult and ever-changing cultural, religious and political framework at the time of Bruno's arrival in London.

Once more in the Queen's favour by the spring of 1583, Oxford did not play any significant role at court and was constantly in need of a job to pay his debts. Nevertheless, Charlewood still appears to be involved in several publications related

to the Earl or to members of his circle. In 1584 he issued for Thomas Hacket a book called *Pandora*, composed by John Southern, servant to Oxford, and addressed to the Earl himself. This collection of lyrics largely consists of acknowledged and unacknowledged translations of the poetry of Pierre de Ronsard and Philippe Desportes; there are also sonnets attributed in the text to Anne Cecil, Oxford's wife and the daughter of Lord Burghley, his guardian. The following year Charlewood and Hacket collaborated again in the issuing of *Fedele and Fortunio*, Munday's rewriting of the Italian comedy *Il Fedele* by Luigi Pasqualigo. The play, entered in the Stationers' Register on 12 November 1584, was acted by Oxford's company — in which apparently Munday himself had featured as an actor — and perhaps staged before Elizabeth either at Arundel House or at court shortly before its publication in 1585.[42]

Two more pieces of evidence of the Charlewood-Oxford connection cannot be ignored. An English translation of the Protestant French writer Philippe de Mornay's *De la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*, published in 1581 in Antwerp, was entered twice in the Stationers' Register respectively to Thomas Smith in October of the same year, and to Thomas Cadman in 1587, when it was first printed by Charlewood and Robinson with the colophon indicating Sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding, Oxford's maternal uncle, as co-authors.[43] If Sidney's authorship has been disputed, the attribution of the work to Golding, who spent most of his life translating foreign works into English, is more than certain.[44] The second piece of evidence relates to John Lyly, the playwright who had acted as Oxford's secretary from 1580 to 1588, living in his household alongside Munday. In 1591 Charlewood printed Lyly's *Endymion*, a comedy that scholars have interpreted as a topical allegory of Elizabeth, or even as an apology for the Earl of Oxford in support of his loyalty to the Queen following the years of his temporary disgrace (1581–1585).[45] Indeed, if we assume that the play was performed in the Royal Palace at Greenwich on 2 February 1588, as indicated on the title page, Lyly must have written it some time between 1586 and 1587. On 1 January 1588, just a month before the performance of *Endymion*, another comedy by Lyly, *Gallathea*, was staged at court, its text also being published by Charlewood four years later.[46] This date, 1588, marks the beginning of the Marprelate controversy, the well-known pamphlet war between English Puritans and the Anglican episcopacy. Lyly, who at that time seems to have held an honorary position as Esquire of the Body to the Queen, sided with the Crown in countering the Puritan pirate works which had appeared under the alias 'Martin Marprelate'. The 'anti-Martinist' group also included other associates of the Earl of Oxford,[47] such as Anthony Munday (who had recently been in the employ of the Archbishop of Canterbury), John Charlewood, who appears to have been the printer of the three 'Pasquill' tracts defending the Church of England and its prelates,[48] as well as the satirical writers Thomas Nashe and Robert Greene, who in turn had had some of their works recently issued by Charlewood.[49] Significantly enough, by that time both Munday and Charlewood were again in touch with their erstwhile patrons, Oxford and Arundel. After a break of a few years, in 1588–89 Munday would dedicate his 'romance epic' works to Oxford,[50] while Charlewood would be stigmatised by Marprelate as 'the Earle of Arundels man', having 'press and letter

in a place called Charterhouse' and printing 'popery' 'in anno 1587, near about the time of the Scottish Queen's death'.[51] As for his role in hunting down the impudent author of the Puritan pamphlets, Munday too was accused of being a turncoat;[52] his defence was taken up by Nashe in *An Almond for a Parrot*, written anonymously in late 1589, and probably published in early 1590.[53] Although critics have speculated about Nashe's disparagement of Munday,[54] there is reason to believe that Charlewood might have acted as a link between the two writers. Besides printing Nashe's earliest work, *The Anatomy of Absurdity*, Charlewood had been involved in the rather shady enterprise of publishing an unauthorised edition of the late Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*. This book, including a prefatory letter by Nashe, was seized shortly after its publication in 1591. Not long afterwards, Charlewood repeated the felony with Nashe himself, since he anonymously printed *Pierce Penilesse* in conjunction with the disreputable publisher and bookseller Richard Jones. Whether or not Nashe had connected Charlewood with the pirated version of *Pierce Penilesse* is unclear. What is certain is that in September 1593 he gave Alice Charlewood, the printer's widow, his longest book, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*, for printing.[55] Charlewood had died some six months earlier.

The last record of Charlewood's relations with Oxford dates to 1592, when the former printed the anonymous *Sweet Speech* and appended it to an English translation of the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, a volume mysteriously attributed to Edward Spenser.[56] The speech had been delivered by a 'Page to the right noble Earle of Oxenford' at the court tournament of 22 January 1581 opened by Philip Howard, who was just coming into his inheritance of Arundel's title; it defended the Knight of the Sun Tree, i.e. Lord Oxford, against his enemies and, following his victory, re-established him in Her Majesty's favour; its authorship has been credited to Anthony Munday or even to Oxford himself. The printing of Oxford's tiltyard speech supplies further evidence of Charlewood's commercial use of patronage. Given that Arundel's challenge was mainly directed against Oxford, who in 1580 had accused him of conspiring against Elizabeth, the issuing from Charlewood's press of its text as a broadside a dozen years earlier[57] undoubtedly shows the printer siding with the former. However, being again on good terms with Oxford, and no longer associated with Arundel after his conviction for treason in 1589, Charlewood, who might have acquired the text at the time, now took the opportunity to put it into print.[58] What is definitely clear from both Charlewood's and Munday's activity is that everything about it involved politics, personal relationships and survival. This in turn may help us to establish a more accurate backdrop against which to place Bruno's own political and religious affiliations while visiting England as a guest of the French ambassador.

There is some evidence pointing to a possible acquaintance between Bruno and one of the two powerful men of the English nobility involved with both Charlewood and Munday, namely Henry Howard. The most obvious place where they could have met is Salisbury Court, where the Italian philosopher lodged from April 1583 to September 1585. Shortly after his arrival in London, Bruno published a collection of his mnemonic works (*Sigillus Sigillorum*), written in Latin and bound together in a single volume dedicated to Castelnau, which bears no place or date

of publication. At least one of the works, the *Triginta sigilli* [Thirty Seals] together with a letter to the vice-chancellor and doctors of Oxford University, was issued by Charlewood — who presented himself as a servant to Philip Arundel — in the summer of 1583, that is at exactly the time of the printing of the first edition of Howard's *A Defensative*, a book accusing Leicester and his Protestant friends of using diabolical powers to control the Queen.[59] In the course of the year, Howard was found to have met regularly with Castelnau at his residence, especially in the summer.[60] Could Howard have helped Bruno to get his works into print via Charlewood's press? Despite the rumours about his religious duplicity as well as about the moral integrity of his character, Howard had distinguished himself for his polemic against English Puritans and for his 'lukewarm sentiments toward the Elizabethan settlement', as Andersson put it.[61] His long and unsuccessful effort to gain Elizabeth's favour and patronage led the Earl, in the early 1570s, to the composition — perhaps with the complicity of his lasting 'patron', Lord Burghley — of a book attacking the Presbyterians and their religious programme by stressing the danger to the State which they represented.[62] What is more, Howard was a humanist and a refined man of letters with a deep interest in philosophy and theology, and at least some of the issues expressed in his book on astrology might not have entirely displeased Bruno,[63] who in turn may not have been unaware of either the association between the Earl and his host Castelnau, or their Marian sympathies. Yet something appears to have happened after the summer of 1583 radically to alter all relationships within the French embassy.

In the autumn of 1583, the visits by the Catholic gentleman Francis Throckmorton bearing clandestine correspondence between the ambassador and Mary Queen of Scots intensified. Thanks to a network of intelligence and spies, set up by Walsingham and Burghley, the plan for a Catholic invasion and rising against England and Elizabeth was detected and by the middle of November many Catholic noblemen had been arrested. Among them, as we saw, were Castelnau's close friends Philip Arundel and Henry Howard, both of them frequent visitors to the French embassy, as well as Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, whose brother had been executed as a leader of the Northern Rising of 1569.[64] After being interrogated, Arundel and Howard were kept in custody and confined to Arundel House and Sir Ralph Sadler's residence until April and late May of 1584 respectively.[65] This span of almost six months corresponds with the period when Charlewood was distancing himself from the Arundels following the family's damaged reputation.[66] It may be that Howard's position and his suspected connections with Mary had also affected Bruno's dealings with him.[67] Concomitantly, Castelnau, the French ambassador, who had been thoroughly implicated in the plot, did his best to patch up the crisis and to re-establish his relations with the Council, the court and the Queen. By the end of May Bruno had published the *Cena de le ceneri*, once again addressing it to Castelnau, who, he said, had hosted him with 'so much magnificence and generosity',[68] and who would turn out to be a strenuous and indeed solitary defender against his enemies. This is also stressed in Bruno's other two dedications to Castelnau, those included in *De la causa, principio et uno* [On the Cause, the Beginning and One] and *De l'infinito, universo e mondi* [On the Infinite,

the Universe and Worlds] which appeared most probably between the spring and the summer of the same year. In the meantime Bruno had altered the beginning of the first dialogue of the *Cena* and rewritten much of dialogue II and the beginning of the third, this latter change leading Charlewood to the reprinting of a whole gathering, the one signed D. Such an expensive reprinting, however, could not have been prompted by stylistic reasons, nor could all the 'unjust injuries' and 'criminal falsehood'[69] that he had suffered be ascribed solely to the appearance of the *Cena* or to Bruno's troublesome attitude towards English society and university system. As already noted, it was quite hard for a printer to earn his living with his press alone, and the philosopher himself was well aware of the need for profit, as we know from his deposition to the Venetian Inquisitors.[70] In addition, Bruno's own remarks in the prefatory epistle of his work that 'there is nothing that cannot be set forth for some reason', and that 'not one word will be superfluous'[71] must be taken into proper consideration. Rather than having a purely literary purpose, therefore, Bruno's changes may have been motivated by the complexity of the political climate of Elizabethan England in the aftermath of the discovery of the Throckmorton plot.

Immediately after Throckmorton's arrest, Elizabeth seemed to be determined to stop once and for all the intrigues in her country. Between January and April 1584 she repeatedly uttered ferocious complaints about Castelnau's behaviour, asking him to cut off all dealings with Mary and trying to call Henri III to account because of the behaviour of his ambassador. Nevertheless, both Walsingham and the Council warned their Queen about the risks of a simultaneous crisis with France and Spain, as the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, also implicated in the conspiracy, had just been expelled from the country. By incriminating Castelnau, England might have to cope with a broad Catholic crusade in which Spain and France would be partners. As a result, Elizabeth was persuaded by her councillors to calm down and to avoid any attack against Castelnau in order to prevent a Catholic alliance against England. At the beginning of May a set of stiff conditions were imposed on the French ambassador, whose compliance with them had to be supervised by the Earl of Leicester.[72] Yet Castelnau's honour was far from being restored. In early June Francis Throckmorton decided to make a complete confession about the secret correspondence with Mary and the Catholics; a few weeks later, on 10 July, he was executed at Tyburn for high treason. Despite all the efforts to keep him out of the plot, the death of his former companion did Castelnau's career a great deal of harm both in the remaining months he stayed in London and when he himself returned home in late 1585.[73] Whether or not the final version of the *Cena* was published after *De la causa* in the summer of 1584,[74] it is certain that its final revision took place in precisely the weeks when Elizabeth and her councillors were examining Castelnau's responsibility for acts of treason and consequently considering what kind of approach they had to take with the French and Spanish kings. In this context, it is evident that any plea for Castelnau's innocence and integrity might be relevant to his cause. Likewise, at this turning point in Castelnau's fortunes and allegiances, any expression of loyalty to Elizabeth and to her councillors on Bruno's part could have helped at least to enhance the ambassador's position, which now appeared to be rather weak. These considerations raise the obvious issue of the Nolan's motives for modifying key passages in his *Cena*.

The suggestion that the chronology of the two known versions of the *Cena*, namely the so-called *vulgata* and the text contained in the Trivulziana copy which Aquilecchia identified as the final version of the work, should be reversed has already been put forward.[75] Without wishing to underestimate the brilliance and accuracy of Aquilecchia's exegetical activity, I am inclined to believe that the content of the *vulgata* better reflects Bruno's intentions and commitments as developed between March and July/August 1584, that is after the composition of the text which survives in print only in the Trivulziana copy. This argument appears even more plausible if one considers the increased radicalness in Bruno's anti-Protestant — and anti-predestinarian — stances, an attitude which is evident from the very first dialogue of *De l'infinito*, also published in the summer of 1584, and which would reach its climax in a far more polemical way in the *Spaccio* and *Cabala*. Finally, such an argument can better explain the coolness of the relationship between Bruno and Leicester, who after the mention in the *Cena* would be totally ignored by the Nolan, as well as the philosopher's later decision to dedicate to Philip Sidney his two major 'moral' works.

My tentative speculations are as follows. At the beginning of June 1583, Bruno went to Oxford in the company of the French ambassador to take part in public debates in honour of the Polish magnate Albert Laski. This event constituted the Nolan's introduction to English society, and we may believe that on that occasion he made the acquaintance of the Chancellor of the University, the Earl of Leicester, a great patron of the Italians in England. As a result, Bruno and Leicester might have met early in June of that year,[76] and not after the first draft of the *Cena* in February 1584, as conjectured by Aquilecchia.[77] In fact, it is precisely after the disastrous outcome of his Oxford experience, where Bruno had first offended Leicester's protégé John Underhill and later challenged the Oxford dons with his set of lectures in August 1583, that the relationship between the two probably deteriorated. Not to mention the curious letter to 'the most excellent Vice-Chancellor, the most renowned Doctors and most celebrated Masters of Oxford University' in which Bruno attacks the pedantry and imbecility of the Aristotelians, who in the *Cena* are identified with the Oxford scholars he mocks. The letter, as already noted, was printed by Charlewood, who was at that point engaged in printing a book by one of Leicester's greatest enemies, Henry Howard. Yet, this same Charlewood, together with his partner Munday, may have been decisive in Bruno's attempt to restore friendly relations with Leicester in February 1584. In that year the printer was collaborating with Munday on the edition of two 'godly and learned' sermons, a partial reprint of Robert Horne's English translation of Calvin's *Quatre sermons*, which had appeared at the beginning of Mary's reign in 1553. The work, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, responded, as Munday claims, to 'the daily request of zelous persons' who were 'very desirous' of it.[78] Curiously enough, this anti-Nicodemite book urged Protestants not to dissemble their faith by attending Mass. The subject was perceived by the Elizabethan Protestant readership as rather sensitive, mainly because the Elizabethan Church and State were headed by a trio of former Nicodemites, Archbishop Parker, William Cecil and the Queen herself.[79] It can hardly be a coincidence, then, that the dedication in Munday's pamphlet *A Watch-woord to Englande*, once again printed by Charlewood in the same year, was

to the Queen herself. Such dedications constituted an obvious attempt to ingratiate himself (and possibly Charlewood) after being under suspicion for his religious sympathies.

This shift in allegiances would match Bruno's closeness to Leicester while he was starting writing the *Cena*. Furthermore, Castelnau's recent involvement with the Throckmorton plot had provoked Elizabeth's wrath against him, thus making his career and his stay in England rather shaky. As a sign of gratitude toward his host, who was desperately trying to patch things up with Leicester and with the other members of the Council, Bruno had at first been complimentary to the Earl in his work. At the same time, he had clung to the illusion that he had found a powerful patron at court in support of his philosophical and cosmological views. This hope may have been kindled by an unusual episode which Bruno quoted in one of the versions of his *Cena*. In December 1583/January 1584[80] Castelnau was invited to Leicester's house to dine with the Earl and his wife, Lettice Knollys, dowager Countess of Essex, whom Leicester had married earlier in 1578. On that occasion, the French ambassador emphasised the strong influence that Lady Leicester had over her husband and noticed that she was rarely seen in the company of other guests.[81] Leicester, for his part, complained that he had lost the favour of the Queen, who had been furious with him from the summer of 1583 on account of his marriage. He was also believed to have indulged in dynastic schemes which aimed to make him the potential power behind the English throne.[82] With the Queen irate with both Castelnau and Leicester, Bruno may have acted as a mediator, and there is no reason to doubt his presence at that dinner, whether or not the reminiscence of it appears in the first draft of the *Cena*. Similarly, the absence in this text of both the assimilation of the two Oxford interlocutors with the asses of biblical literature and the mention of Alessandro Citolini's name and possibly of Campo de' Fiori, can be easily interpreted as a gesture betokening the Nolan's friendship towards Leicester.[83] Much more revealing, however, is the omission of both the 'ceremony of the cup'[84] and the reference to the asinine nature of pedants and believers, which would be included in the new version as a prelude to Bruno's theological satire and withering criticism of Christianity as a whole. Yet this period of cordiality was brief. The 'Protestant flavour', as it has been called,[85] is firstly toned down in the alternative beginning of the first dialogue — probably written between late March and early April[86] — which in fact seems to indicate a break in the relationship between Bruno and Leicester. Two glaring examples are Bruno's provocative addition of 'Oxonia' as the place where the two doctors come from and his strong emphasis on the donkey allegory;[87] while the omission of both Smitho's and Frulla's ranks and the names of Florio and Gwinne as those who brought the invitation to the Nolan to Greville's lodging in Whitehall, as well as of the mention of the French ambassador's residence, perfectly match Bruno's 'disclaimer' regarding Leicester and Elizabeth's courtiers in the second draft of the *Cena* as a consequence of the unfavourable reaction that the work may have triggered among them.[88]

With the appearance of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, the anonymous tract containing a ferocious satire of Robert Dudley, things became even worse. Written in spring 1584 by the exiled Catholic courtiers in Paris, more specifically by a group among

them composed of formerly pro-Anjou courtiers, partisans of the Queen of Scots, recently hounded from the English court by Leicester himself, the libellous pamphlet attracted the notice of the English government in August of that year. Although Leicester only began to complain about it in April 1585,[89] there is evidence that the tract circulated widely at the French embassy soon after its printing, and that it was imported into England thanks to Castelnau's servant Girault. As a consequence, it seems more than possible that Bruno knew about the book, and we can even suppose that it was this circumstance that finally drove him from Leicester in the summer of 1584. As a matter of fact, in the new version of the *Cena*, alongside Leicester and Walsingham Bruno inserts the name of Lord Burghley, perhaps pointing to a more balanced political triumvirate of the great officers of State who kept Elizabeth in power.[90] Such a change may also hint at what seems to be Bruno's final programme, namely a kind of political and religious irenicism to be achieved under the rule of Henri III, who was trying to soothe both Catholic extremism and Protestant rigour, and possibly of Elizabeth. Since his appointment as Lord Treasurer in 1572, neither French influence in the Netherlands nor the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre deterred Burghley from the French alliance; in the 1570s and 1580s he had also been quite a strong supporter of the match with Anjou, but above all he was less internationalist and Puritan than Leicester was, two features which may not have displeased Bruno who would condemn the expansionistic policy of both England and Spain.[91] A conservative by nature, Burghley believed that the primary duty of both Catholics and Puritans was to be loyal to the Queen for the sake of monarchy and of the State.

It is to Elizabeth herself, who in both versions of the *Cena* had been extolled for her warm hospitality to foreigners, that Bruno also looks for his conciliatory agenda. Generous praise had already been bestowed on Elizabeth in the *Cena*, but her merits would be amplified in the final draft where he would go so far as to include a comparison with any queen of antiquity, as well as a call for her role as universal monarch. Bruno's use of the name 'Amphitrite' — missing in the Trivulziana copy — to stress Elizabeth's role as universal monarch openly connects the *Cena* with the equally symbolic description of the Queen as 'that unique Diana' in the *Furori*.[92] Again, in the *Causa* Bruno would celebrate Elizabeth as the only peacekeeper in a world torn by religious dissent.[93] However, the 'Amphitrite passage' is not the only case where historical references and political, religious and literary issues can be better explained if the *vulgata* is assumed as the final draft of the *Cena*.[94] Bruno's inclusion immediately before the panegyric on Elizabeth of a paragraph containing a moral condemnation of any instrumental use of power as a policy tool against one's subjects, for instance, may be interpreted rather as a warning to princes not to emulate the pedants and theologians in their attempt to manipulate the masses and individuals. In this respect, as Aquilecchia himself claimed, Bruno's criticism of princes, together with the attenuation of his scathing description of the London populace, is much more consistent with the themes of the *Causa* and the *Spaccio*.[95] Similarly, the biblical story about Samuel and Daniel, which is interpolated in the same paragraph, may imply an allusion to Philip Sidney, to whom the Queen had so far refused to give court appointments.[96] Bruno's attentions to Sidney in

the *Cena*, together with his mocking in *De la causa* of certain requirements of the Oxford statutes promulgated during Leicester's chancellorship, as well as his making one of the interlocutors of the *Infinito* Sidney's attendant, Alexander Dickson, whose polemic against Ramus had raised strong Protestant reaction, are perfectly compatible with the hypothesis of a definite rupture in the Bruno-Leicester relationship, as will emerge from the *Spaccio*.[97] In the middle of November, with the *Spaccio* probably in print, Castelnau dined with Elizabeth, Leicester and other councillors and was temporarily restored to the Queen's favour. Nevertheless, by that time neither the French ambassador nor the Earl of Leicester were Bruno's models. Instead, it was Philip Sidney, the young aristocrat significantly celebrated in both versions of the *Cena*, whom the Italian philosopher now addresses as the powerful patron and refined spirit who could better appreciate 'the numbered and ordered seeds'[98] of his philosophy.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Giovanni Aquilecchia, 'Giordano Bruno in Inghilterra (1583–85). Documenti e testimonianze', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 1:1–2 (1995), 21–42.
2. Tiziana Provvidera, 'Essex e il Nolanus. Un nuovo documento inglese su Bruno', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 4:2 (1998), 437–48; and 'A New English Document on Giordano Bruno', *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 19 (2002), 23–29.
3. '... pigliai licentia et con littere dell'istesso Re andai in Inghilterra a star con l'ambasciator di Sua Maestà, che si chiamava il signor della Malviciera, per nome Michel de Castelnovo, in casa del qual non faceva altro, se non che stava per suo gentilhomo' [I took my leave and with a letter from the King himself, I went to England to be with His Majesty's ambassador, who was called the Lord of Mauvissière, Michel de Castelnau by name, in whose house I did nothing more, except serve him as his gentleman]. See Luigi Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno* (Rome: Salerno, 1993), p. 162.
4. Cf. Frances A. Yates, 'The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3 (1939–40), 181–207.
5. Cf. John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the French Embassy Affair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Id., *Under the Molehill. An Elizabethan Spy Story* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). Although I personally do not find Bossy's arguments about Bruno's activity as a spy ultimately persuasive, his books provide a valuable piece of documentary evidence of what was going on at the London house of Michel de Castelnau at the time of Bruno's residence there.
6. Cf. Giovanni Aquilecchia's works in this area: 'La lezione definitiva della *Cena de le Ceneri* di Giordano Bruno' [1950], repr. in *Schede bruniane (1950–1991)* (Rome: Manziana, 1993), pp. 1–39; *Le opere italiane di Giordano Bruno: Critica testuale e oltre* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1991); 'Tre schede su Bruno e Oxford', *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, 72 (1993), 376–93; *Giordano Bruno* (Turin: Nino Aragno, 2001), pp. 43–44.
7. Giovanni Aquilecchia, 'Lo stampatore londinese di Giordano Bruno e altre note per l'edizione della *Cena*' [1960], repr. in *Schede bruniane*, pp. 157–207.
8. Since the appearance of Frances A. Yates's *A Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936) the Bruno-Shakespeare discussion has over the years become too wide and its critical bibliography too extensive to be quoted; but see Hilary Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge: Giordano Bruno in England* (London: Routledge, 1989, repr. 2013); and 'Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio* and Possible Echoes in Shakespeare and Ben Jonson', *Viator*, 43:2 (2012), 357–76 (see Chapter 8 in this volume). For Bruno and Marlowe see also Rosanna Camerlingo, *Teatro e teologia. Marlowe, Bruno e i puritani* (Naples: Liguori, 1999).
9. Cf., for instance, Mordechai Feingold, 'Bruno in England Revisited', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 329–46.
10. Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, pp. 116–17.

11. Cf. Hilary Gatti, 'The State of Giordano Bruno Studies at the End of the Four-Hundredth Centenary of the Philosopher's Death', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 252–61 (pp. 259–60). The relevance of the document was also pointed out by Saverio Ricci in his *Giordano Bruno* (Rome: Salerno, 2000), pp. 550–51.
12. Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 178 and ff.
13. '... la notizia del rogo di Bruno si diffonde a fatica in Europa, senza suscitare risonanze particolari': see Michele Ciliberto, *Umbra profunda: Studi su Giordano Bruno* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1999), p. 38. Despite admitting the importance of the document (p. 25 and p. 36, n. 2), Ciliberto never refers to it in any of his later numerous and extensive contributions on the topic.
14. See, for instance, Ciliberto, *Umbra profunda*, p. 25.
15. Aquilecchia, 'Giordano Bruno in Inghilterra', p. 24: 'Il S.r Doctor Jordano Bruno Nolano, a professor in philosophy, intendeth to pass into England; whose religion I can not commend.'
16. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 21.
17. For this question, see especially Patrick Collinson, 'The Politics of Religion and the Religion of Politics', *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), 74–92.
18. Cf. Arnold O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916), p. 270.
19. In April 1571 Parliament passed the Treason Act, which had been worked on since 1570, according to which it became high treason to deny Elizabeth's right to the throne, to claim that anyone else should be king or queen, to write, print, make a speech or say that Elizabeth was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or usurper.
20. See *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660*, ed. by Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000).
21. A possible connection between Munday and Bruno has already been investigated in Tiziana Provvidera, 'John Charlewood, Printer of Giordano Bruno's Italian Dialogues, and His Book Production', in *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher of the Renaissance*, ed. by H. Gatti (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 167–86.
22. *The Mirrour of Mutabilitie* (1579) and *Zelauto. The Fountaine of Fame*, printed by Charlewood in 1580. In *A View of Sundry Examples*, entered to Charlewood on 27 April 1580, and in *Zelauto*, Munday openly signed himself 'Seruant to the Right Honorable, the Earl of Oxenford'. Another work, *Galien of France*, now lost, is mentioned in the preliminary matter to *The Mirrour of Mutabilitie* as having been already printed, perhaps in 1578, and dedicated to the Earl of Oxford.
23. In 1574 and 1579 John Allde had published for George Baker, Lord Oxford's physician to whom Munday dedicated *A View of Sundry Examples*. During those years, Allde was also connected with some members of the Howard and Arundel families: see Celeste Turner Wright, 'Young Anthony Munday Again', *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), 150–68 (p. 154).
24. Charles Arundel (d. 1587), Henry Howard's cousin and a distant kinsman of Queen Elizabeth, was openly a Roman Catholic recusant and later a leader of the English exiles in France. He has also been credited with the authorship of the anonymous libel called *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1584), attacking the Earl of Leicester as well as discrediting Elizabeth's government and court.
25. During his life, Henry Howard (1540–1614), Oxford's first cousin, suffered repeated arrest and detention for his supposed seditious activities, from openly defending 'papistry' to spying and propagandising for Catholic countries as well as supporting the Scottish Queen. For a more recent account of his religious and political stances, see D. C. Andersson, *Lord Henry Howard (1540–1614): An Elizabethan Life* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009).
26. This was the English version of Francisco de Moraes's *Palmerin of England*, which Munday in his *Zelauto* had promised Oxford would be forthcoming. Although it was registered by Charlewood on 13 February 1581, the edition, if it appeared, is now lost and was reprinted only in 1596. Munday also mentions the appearance of an earlier edition in the preliminaries to his 1588 *Palmerin d'Oliva*, *Part I*. On Munday's translations of chivalric romances, see Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture. Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580–1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

27. The negative consequences of the Oxford defection upon the Catholic court party and its clientage network are examined in Donna Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560–1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). According to this scholar, Munday was a Catholic Royalist who only outwardly conformed to Protestantism.
28. Philip Howard (1557–1595) was the eldest son and heir of Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded for treason in 1572 for having plotted against Elizabeth and in favour of a Spanish invasion of England. On 30 September 1584 Philip Howard was secretly received into the Roman Catholic church and on 25 April 1585 was committed to the Tower of London on charges of intriguing with the Jesuits William Allen and Robert Parsons and laying claim to the title of Duke of Norfolk. On 14 April 1589 Oxford was among the peers who found Philip guilty of treason. After his death in prison in 1595, Oxford claimed that 'the Howards were the most treacherous race under heaven' and that 'my Lord Howard [was] the worst villain that lived in this earth': cf. Bernard M. Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550–1604. From Contemporary Documents* (London: John Murray, 1928), p. 117.
29. These are a pamphlet on the London earthquake of 1580, written in the same year by the Oxford protégée Thomas Twyne (1543–1613), and dedicated to Philip Howard; John Nicholls' *The Oration and Sermon made at Rome* (1581), which bears on the title page 'Iohn Charlewood, servant to the right Honourable, Earle of Arundell'; the broadside entitled *Callophisus, Being Brought by the Greatest Perfection* (1581), which was written to defend and proclaim Arundel/Callophisus's loyalty to the Queen after his paternal grandfather and great-grandfather had both been detained for treason.
30. These are a tract giving the news of an English massacre of Papal troops which took place at Smerwick in 1580, *The true reporte of the prosperous successe which God gave vnto our English souldiours against the forraine bands of our Romaine enemies*, printed in 1581 and attributed to Munday, and *A courtly controversie, betweene loove and learning*, which is also the output of Charlewood-Munday's partnership in the same year. In her 1959 article, Wright mistakenly identified the dedicatee of these works with his namesake, the recusant George Gifford of Chillington: cf. Wright, 'Young Anthony Munday Again', p. 157.
31. Cf. Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics*, p. 6. Significantly, Lady Sheffield's first husband, John Sheffield, was a relative of Oxford. The date on the single surviving title page of *The Paine of Pleasure* is 17 October 1580, therefore the book was printed before Oxford's accusations of his Howard-Arundel friends and associates. Sarah Smith suggests that the poem called *The Paine of Pleasure*, which is part of the homonymous collection, may actually have been composed by Oxford himself: see Sarah Smith, 'A Reattribution of Munday's *The Paine of Pleasure*', *The Oxfordian*, 5 (2002), 70–99.
32. *A Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophesies* [...]. At London. Printed by Iohn Charlewood, Printer to the right Honourable Earle of Arundell. 1583. The book entered the Stationers' Register on 13 June 1583; two printed editions must have come out in the summer and in the autumn of the same year.
33. The suggestion that Howard's treatise was a response to Richard Harvey's *An Astrological Discourse upon the Conjunction of Saturne & Jupiter* (1583) has been revised by Alan Nelson, who claimed that its target was in fact a book of prophecies by the Earl of Oxford. In this context, the dedication of the work to Walsingham was intended to weaken and discredit Oxford: see Alan H. Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), pp. 218–25.
34. BL Lansdowne MS 39, fol. 193^{r}: William Herle to Lord Burghley, 16 November 1583, quoted in Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 205, doc. 6.
35. There is evidence of Howard's being brought for questioning already in early July 1583 (BL Harleian MS 6035, fol. 20^{v}, quoted in Bossy, *Under the Molehill*, p. 67), that is almost a month after Charlewood's registration of *A Defensative*. The reasons for this interrogation are not known, although Bossy explains it in the light of Howard's association with Mary Stuart.
36. It is worth mentioning a further Howard-related book which appears to have been issued by Charlewood's press in those years. This is *The Heroycall Epistles of the Learned Poet Publius Ovidius Naso. In English Verse*, a reprint of George Turberville's 1567 translation of Ovid's *Heroides*, which was dedicated to Thomas Howard viscount Byndon (*c.* 1520–1582), the youngest son of

Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, and Henry Howard's uncle. Although this edition is undated, some references seem to indicate 1583 as the year of publication — against the dating of the *Short Title Catalogue* (consulted online, henceforth *STC*) which is 1584.

37. Anthony Munday, *The English Roman Lyfe*, ed. by Philip J. Ayres (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 2.
38. These are: *A Breefe and True Reporte of the Execution of Certain Traytours at Tyburne* (1582); a translation of Adrian Savorine's *The True Image of Christian Love* (1587) and *A Banquet of Dainty Conceits* (1588), all printed by Charlewood.
39. Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
40. Cf. Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics*, p. 4.
41. Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, pp. 44–105.
42. Cf. Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics*, pp. 60–62; Turner Wright, 'Young Anthony Munday Again', p. 156. Hamilton's claim that *Fedele and Fortunio* represents 'another challenge to the Leicester group' (pp. 60–61) is hardly persuasive.
43. *A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* [...]. *By Philip of Mornay Lord of Plessie Marlie*. Begunne to be translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney Knight, and at his request finished by Arthur Golding. Imprinted at London [by J. Charlewood and] (G. Robinson) for T. Cadman, 1587 (Charlewood's name from *STC* 18149; Robinson's name from colophon).
44. Cf. Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), pp. 251–52, where the attribution of the work is questioned on the basis of its consistent deviation from Sidney's known style. Charlewood and Thomas Hacket busied themselves with two more texts translated by Golding, namely the geographical compendium of Pomponius Mela (1585) and the *Collectanea* of Julius Solinus (1587).
45. See Josephine W. Bennett, 'Oxford and *Endimion*', *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association*, 57 (1942), 354–69.
46. Both *Endymion* and *Gallathea* had been entered in the Stationers' Register on 4 October 1591 to Joan Broome, who had inherited the right after her husband's death, the bookseller William Broome. According to the *STC*, however, the entry in the same Register on 1 April 1585 of a play entitled *Titirus and Galathea* to Gabriel Cawood could refer to an earlier version of Lyly's *Gallathea*. The actual dating of the performance and composition of *Endymion*, too, might be questioned: R. Warwick Bond, the editor of the 1902 edition of Lyly's works, suggests 2 February 1585/6, and May-November of the preceding year as for its performance and composition respectively: cf. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. by R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), III, 9.
47. The active role for the Earl of Oxford in championing the cause of the established church during the controversy has been also suggested in some scholarly contributions: cf. Elizabeth Appleton, *An Anatomy of the Marprelate Controversy 1588–1596: Retracing Shakespeare's Identity and That of Martin Marprelate* (Lewiston: Mellen, 2001). According to Appleton, Oxford was the real leader and author of the defence of the Anglican bishops. It might be interesting to recall that as early as the 1570s Henry Howard had also been involved with John Whitgift in the publishing of a book in defence of the English ecclesiastical settlement: see p. 145 and note 62.
48. These are: *A Countercuffe Given to Martin Junior by the Venturous, Hardy and Renowned Pasquil of England, Cavaliero* (1589); *The Returne of the Renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England* (1589) and *The Firste Parte of Pasquils Apologie* (1590). The authorship of the Pasquill tracts has been doubtfully attributed to Nashe; other scholars associate them with Munday, Robert Greene or the Earl of Oxford, or by either of them in close collaboration with Nashe, but this is not yet a settled issue. On these little pamphlets, see also Tiziana Provvidera, 'La tradizione pasquinesca nell'Inghilterra del Cinquecento: dal *Pasquil the Playne* (1533) ai Pasquill tracts (1589–1590)', in *Ex marmore. Pasquini, pasquinisti, pasquinate nell'Europa moderna*, ed. by C. Damianaki, P. Procaccioli, A. Romano (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2006), pp. 429–59.
49. In 1589, when Charlewood was printing anti-Martinists tracts, two 'euphuistic' works issued from his press: Nashe's *The Anatomy of Absurdity* and a second edition of Greene's *Arbasto, the Anatomy of Fortune* (1584). Two more titles of Greene's production are taken to be Charlewood's presswork, *Morando the Tritameron of Love* (1584) and *The Card of Fancy* (1587), a reprint of the 1584

edition of the romance *Gwydonius* dedicated to Oxford. Finally, in 1590 Greene's translation of Orazio Rinaldi's *Dottrina delle virtù e fuga dei vizi* (1585) was printed by Charlewood for William Wright.

50. In the dedication of his 1588 translation of *Palmerin d'Oliva*, *Part I*, Munday addresses his patron as 'right noble Lord, and sometime my honorable Maister', writing that he himself had 'once [been] so happy as to serve a Maister so noble'. The promised *Palmerin d'Oliva*, *Part II*, bearing a dedication to the same Earl of Oxford, might have appeared early in 1589, although nothing survives of this edition. Cf. Louise Wilson, 'Playful Paratexts: The Front Matter of Anthony Munday's Iberian Romans Translations', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by H. Smith and L. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 121–32.
51. *The Epistle* [*Oh Read over D. John Bridges, for it is a Worthy Work*] (1588), in Joseph L. Black (ed.), *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 24. The reference could be to two anonymous works, *An Epistle of Comfort, to the Reuerend Priestes, and to the Laye Sort Restrayned in Durance* (1587–88), attributed to the Jesuit Robert Southwell (c. 1561–1595), and *A Consolatory Letter to All the Afflicted Catholickes in England* (1588), bearing the false imprints 'Imprinted at Paris' and 'Imprinted at Roan in Normandy' respectively, and conjecturally assigned to Charlewood on the basis of their ornaments. Although Charterhouse was the former name of Howard House, in Smithfield, the *STC* identifies the clandestine press used for both publications with 'Arundel House' in the Strand, probably because in 1587 Southwell was living there in concealment as a chaplain to Anne Dacre, Philip Howard's wife. Other scholars have argued that the press was located either at the family's property in Spitalfields or at Anne's property at Acton, where it must have been moved in order to escape censorship in 1588. At any rate, it is worth noting that Southwell was different from many Catholic activists in that he saw no problem with being a Catholic and also being loyal to the Queen.
52. *The Just Censure and Reproofe of Martin Junior* [1589], in *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*, p. 172.
53. Although the authorship of *An Almond for a Parrot* has been questioned, the attribution to Nashe is now generally accepted by scholars.
54. Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*, pp. 72–74.
55. Curiously enough, Henry Howard's *A Defensative*, printed by Charlewood in 1583, came to be Nashe's major source for at least three of his works published in the years 1593–96. Scholars have suggested that Nashe read and took notes from *A Defensative* between the end of 1592 and early 1593. See, for instance, C. G. Harlow, 'A Source for Nashe's *Terrors of the Night* and the Authorship of *I Henry VI*', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, 5:1 (Winter 1965), 31–47.
56. *A Most Excellent Dialogue, Written in Greeke by Plato... Translated by Edw. Spenser. Heereto is annexed a sweet speech or Oration spoken at the Tryumphe at White-hall before her Maiestie, by the Page to the right noble Earle of Oxenforde* (London: Cuthbert Burby, 1592). The pamphlet is discussed in Marshall W. S. Swan, 'The *Sweet Speech* and Spenser's (?) *Axiochus*', *English Literary History*, 11 (1944), 161–81; see also Celeste Turner Wright, 'Anthony Mundy, "Edward" Spenser, and E. K.', *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association*, 76 (1961), 34–39, where the author explores the connections between Charlewood, Munday and Hugh Singleton, the publisher of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*.
57. See above, p. 141, n. 29.
58. Cf. Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments. From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 67–76.
59. Cf. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 101; see also above, p. 141 and n. 32.
60. Cf. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 104, n. 15, based on the interrogations of Howard concerning his connections with Throckmorton's conspiracy in November 1583.
61. Cf. Andersson, *Lord Henry Howard*, p. 82.
62. *A Defense of the Ecclesiasticall Regiment in England Defaced by T.[homas] C.[artwright] in his Reply against D. Whitgift* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1574). The work, which bears no indication of authorship, was published by the same printer that Whitgift had used for his reply to the *Admonition* literature: cf. Andersson, *Lord Henry Howard*, pp. 84–85, n. 11. Evidence of very good relations between Howard and Burghley seems to be dated between 1573 and 1577.
63. Cf. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 100.

64. These are the 7th and 8th Earls, whose nephew and son respectively, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, held in his library one of the most notable contemporary collections of Bruno's texts. For Northumberland as a collector and annotator of Bruno's works, see Hilary Gatti, 'Giordano Bruno: The Texts in the Library of the Ninth Earl of Northumberland', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983), 63–77; and 'Minimum and Maximum, Finite and Infinite. Bruno and the Northumberland Circle', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985), 144–63; also *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, pp. 35–73. Bossy suggests that Howard probably acquired a copy of Bruno's *Cena* and *Causa*: cf. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 125 and n. 58.
65. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 104.
66. See above, p. 141.
67. Bossy's identification of Howard as the original of 'Poliinnio' in *De la causa, principio et uno* and his suggestion that the Italian philosopher disliked him are mostly based on his tenuous theory that Bruno was Henry Fagot, the (not yet identified) chaplain of Castelnau who acted as Walsingham's intelligence source.
68. G. Bruno, *La cena de le ceneri*, in *Opere italiane di Giordano Bruno*, ed. by G. Aquilecchia, 2 vols (Turin: Utet, 2002), I, 440: 'A voi che con tanta munificenza et libertà avete accolto il Nolano al vostro tetto e luogo più eminente di vostra casa.'
69. Bruno, *De la causa, principio et uno*, in *Opere italiane*, I, 594.
70. On 2 June 1592 Bruno stated that his printer had advised him that the false imprints of Venice and Paris would increase the sale of his books: cf. Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, p. 166.
71. Bruno, *Cena*, p. 438: '...non è cosa che non vi possa venir a proposito con qualche raggione. Considerate ancora che non v'è parola ociosa: per che in tutte parti è da mietere, et da disotterrar cose di non mediocre importanza, e forse piú là dove meno appare' [... there is nothing that cannot be set forth for some reason. Consider also the fact that not one word will be superfluous: because throughout the work there are things of no ordinary importance to harvest and unearth, and perhaps in places which seem least obvious].
72. Leicester's relationship with Castelnau dates back as far as 1574, and it was quite friendly although it might have been affected by the different roles they played in the Anjou marriage negotiations, as well as by the circulation of *Leicester's Commonwealth* through the French embassy starting from the summer of 1584.
73. A fully documented account of these events can be found in Bossy, *Under the Molehill*, pp. 94 ff.
74. Cf. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 46.
75. Michele Ciliberto, Nicoletta Tirinnanzi, *Il dialogo recitato. Per una nuova edizione del Bruno volgare* (Florence: Olschki, 2002), pp. 112–13, briefly entertained this possibility; Elisabetta Tarantino, 'Le due versioni del foglio D della *Cena de le Ceneri*', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 10 (2004), 413–24, first showed that the *vulgata* was the final version. See also Neil Harris, 'Il *cancellans* da Bruno a Manzoni: fisionomia e fisiologia di una cosmesi libraria', in *Favole, metafore, storie. Seminario su Giordano Bruno*, ed. by Olivia Catanorchi and Diego Pirillo (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), pp. 567–604; Conor Fahy, 'Giovanni Aquilecchia as an Editor of Texts', in *Renaissance Letters and Learning. In Memoriam Giovanni Aquilecchia*, ed. by D. Knox and N. Ordine (London: Warburg Institute; Turin: Nino Aragno, 2012), pp. 51–62.
76. Bossy speculates that Bruno might even have been present at a tournament which took place at Greenwich to entertain Laski before the trip to Oxford, as he would have accompanied Castelnau in the capacity of his 'gentleman'. Both Elizabeth and Leicester were present: cf. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 23.
77. This idea is repeated in almost all of Aquilecchia's contributions on the matter.
78. *Two godly and learned sermons, made by that famous and woorthy instrument in Gods church, M. Iohn Caluin. Which sermons were long since translated out of Latine into English, by M. Robert Horne late Byshop of Winchester [...] nowe published by A. M[unday]*, At London: Printed [by John Charlewood] for Henry Car, [1584], A3r; A1r.
79. Cf. Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 112–15.
80. Although Aquilecchia dates the dinner to September 1583, there is documentary evidence that such an event took place on 22 December 1583 'old style', that is 1 January 1584 'new style': cf.

British Library, Harley MS 1582, fol. 334^{v} and the letter of Castelnau to Henri III, 22/12/1583 (o.s.), quoted in Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 169 and n. 89; Simon Adams, 'Dudley, Lettice, countess of Essex and countess of Leicester (1543–1634)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online version <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8159> [accessed 9 April 2015].

81. 'He especially invited me to dine with him and his wife, who has much influence over him and whom he introduces only to those to whom he wishes to show a particular mark of attention', quoted in Elizabeth Jenkins, *Elizabeth and Leicester* (London: Phoenix, 2002) pp. 280–81.
82. Adams, 'Dudley, Lettice, countess of Essex'.
83. See Aquilecchia's discussion of the absence of these mentions in gathering D of the Trivulziana copy, changes that he considers 'tra quelle alterazioni operate da Bruno in questo foglio allo scopo di non offendere la suscettibilità dei lettori puritani inglesi' or 'di personaggi rappresentativi della corrente riformata inglese' (cf. Aquilecchia, *Le opere italiane di Giordano Bruno*, pp. 39–41). On this topic, see also Dilwyn Knox, 'An Arm and a Leg: Giordano Bruno and Alessandro Citolini in Elizabethan London', in *Reflexivity: Critical Themes in the Italian Cultural Tradition*, ed. by Prue Shaw and John Took (Ravenna: Longo, 2000), pp. 161–76.
84. The centrality of the nature of the Eucharist in Bruno's criticism of Christianity is a recurrent feature of his later works. In particular, in the first dialogue of *De la causa, principio et uno*, which was written after the four theoretical dialogues that follow, there is a disgusting description of a supper that parallels that of the second version of the *Cena*, thus supporting the chronological and theoretical continuity between them.
85. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 169.
86. I assume that Ash Wednesday fell on 4 March 'old style', as other scholars put it, and therefore that Bruno started writing the *Cena* after that date. The rewriting of the beginning of the first dialogue might have occurred between late March and April 1584, while the change of gathering D may be dated, as already mentioned, to July-August of the same year. In this respect, it is interesting to note that in the Trivulziana copy Teofilo claims that Bruno had been in England for ten months, whereas the comment disappears in the later version. This omission clearly indicates that time had passed in the meanwhile and therefore that the counting of months was not correct at this point.
87. Aquilecchia, *Le opere italiane di Giordano Bruno*, p. 32.
88. On this argument, see Tarantino, 'Le due versioni del foglio D della *Cena de le Ceneri*', p. 421. The publication of the *Cena*, as Bruno reports, had estranged many English readers, including Fulke Greville: see *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, in *Opere italiane*, II, 172.
89. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 129, n. 67.
90. Tarantino, 'Le due versioni del foglio D della *Cena de le Ceneri*', p. 422.
91. Bruno, *Cena*, p. 452; *Spaccio*, p. 320.
92. Bruno, *De gli eroici furori*, in *Opere italiane*, II, 499. On this argument, see F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London-New York: Routledge, 1964, rep. 2008), pp. 316–19; and 'Queen Elizabeth as Astrea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10 (1947), 27–82.
93. Bruno, *Causa*, pp. 643–44.
94. For an analysis of this passage of the *Cena*, see Elisabetta Tarantino, 'Ultima Thule: Contrasting Empires in Bruno's *Ash Wednesday Supper* and Shakespeare's *Tempest*', in *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher of the Renaissance*, pp. 201–25 (pp. 222–25).
95. Cf. Aquilecchia, *Le opere italiane di Giordano Bruno*, p. 33 and 'Astri, plebi e principi nella *Cena* di Bruno', in *Sguardi sull'Italia*, ed. by G. Bedani and others, Occasional papers, n. 3 (London: Society for Italian Studies, 1997), pp. 145–57.
96. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 170.
97. Cf. Aquilecchia, 'Tre schede su Bruno e Oxford', pp. 389–93, in which he emphasises Bruno's insertion into the *Spaccio* of a dismissive allusion to the 'Orsi d'Inghilterra', that is Leicester's coat-of-arms.
98. Bruno, *Spaccio*, p. 176.

CHAPTER 10

❖

Compassion and Cosmology: Caravaggio and Giordano Bruno*

Ingrid D. Rowland

In 1655, the city of Rome, in the person of Pope Innocent X, undertook a thorough-going reform of its prison system. One stimulus for this project may have been the Jubilee of 1650, a ceremony that by then occurred every 25 years, drawing hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to the Eternal City to seek special pardon for their sins. The faithful were especially encouraged to make a devotional tour of seven ancient churches over the course of two days, an activity that would earn them a plenary indulgence, that is, full remission of the penalty their sins would otherwise have earned them in Purgatory. The pilgrimage of the Seven Churches left no part of the city unexplored, from the basilica of San Lorenzo in the northeast to San Sebastiano to the south. It took in the four patriarchal basilicas of St Peter's, St Paul's, Santa Maria Maggiore, and St John Lateran, as well as the old Imperial property of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.[1] Pope Innocent must have felt that the city's prisons, easily visible along the way, left a good deal to be desired, and he became all the more convinced in 1652, when the managers of one of these facilities, the Corte dei Savelli, asked to review their lease.[2] The penitentiary's central location on the main road from the Vatican to the Capitol, the Via Papalis, was its chief, and perhaps its sole, attraction.

There is almost no surviving record of what the Corte dei Savelli actually looked like. Its name literally means 'the courtyard of the Savelli', an old Roman baronial family that produced two popes; hence, the penitentiary itself was what we would now call an example of privatization. Indeed, the Savelli family had contracted with the Vatican since the late Middle Ages to house a law court, police station, and prison in the run-down medieval hulk that was only one of their many palazzi in Rome. Leonardo Bufalini's 1551 map of Rome seems to show the building as a typical palazzo, but that benign appearance is probably deceptive. Conditions were notoriously bad for the people who languished behind bars in the 'Savelli Courtyard'; at the same time, by charging rents and collecting fees, the Savelli family itself profited handsomely from managing what was, in effect, the chief police station for the southern half of Rome.[3] In any event, Pope Innocent found the Corte dei Savelli so appalling that, rather than renewing the long-standing contract with

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the Savelli family, he confiscated their property, tore down the building, and gave a goodly chunk of the land to the Venerable English College next door — which had been complaining for generations about the rowdy neighbours.[4]

All that survives of the Corte dei Savelli today is a plaque, placed there in 1999 to commemorate one of the prison's most illustrious residents, who was also, sadly, one its most unfortunate. Beatrice Cenci, the daughter of another Roman baronial family, was arrested in 1599 along with her stepmother, her brothers, and a friend of the family for conspiring to murder Beatrice's odious father, Francesco, a violent, sexually abusive tyrant who had sequestered his wife and daughter away in one of his remote castles.[5] When Francesco Cenci was found dead at the bottom of the castle's steep rampart, it looked at first like an accident, but on closer examination his wounds suggested that he had been brained with a hammer and then pushed over the parapet. The papal *sbirri*, or police force, arrested Beatrice, her stepmother, and her brothers.

In the Corte dei Savelli, Beatrice, her brother Giacomo, and her stepmother Lucrezia were all tortured for evidence, not in a dark dungeon, but rather on the top floor of the palazzo, where the rope and pulley for the *strappado*, the usual Roman choice for judicial torture, could be hung from a high rafter. The prisoners' hands were tied behind their backs and fastened to the cord; pulling on the cord's other end raised them off the ground, and then the torturer let them drop abruptly, usually dislocating shoulders and painfully tearing ligaments. Half an hour of this excruciating treatment was the standard application. When it came to Beatrice's turn, the police duly recorded her piercing cries; the records survive to this day.[6] Confessions were easy to obtain by this method; victims would admit to anything in order to make the torture stop. Obtaining the truth, as most early modern jurists were well aware, was infinitely more difficult. Under duress, Beatrice named the family castellan, Olimpio Calvetti, and admitted that he was also her lover.

In the Cenci case, all of the accused, except Beatrice's twelve-year-old brother Bernardino, had probably taken part in plotting the murder of Francesco Cenci, with Calvetti probably striking the fatal hammer blows. But the papal court would find even Bernardino guilty and sentence him to death along with the rest of his family. Meanwhile, an assassin took care of Calvetti.

Many of the people convicted of capital crimes in the Corte dei Savelli were simply hanged from the iron grates of the prison windows; others were taken to the execution ground in the nearby Campo de' Fiori. But Pope Clement VIII wanted to make an unforgettable example of the Cenci and the challenge they posed to the idea that a Roman lord's patriarchal rights over the rest of his family were absolute, no matter how dissolute, cruel, or violent he might be. To prolong the spectacle of their punishment, Clement ordered that Beatrice Cenci, her brothers, and her stepmother be paraded through the streets of the bankers' quarter to another of Rome's execution grounds: the piazza of Tor di Nona, the open square where the ancient Roman Ponte Sant'Angelo crossed the river Tiber to the Vatican.

The Tor di Nona itself was Rome's other important prison, built over an ancient Roman granary tower that had been erected on the bank of the Tiber to store grain shipped downriver — 'Nona' was a shortened form of the ancient Latin word for

grain supply, *annona*.[7] Its waterproof concrete was so durable — and so difficult to remove — that it still survives today beneath the modern embankment. In the early modern period, however, the Tor di Nona had been transformed into a prison serving the northern half of Rome. Because of its proximity to the Vatican, it was also the place where the Roman Inquisition's convicted heretics waited for execution once they had been sentenced and handed over, as the legal formula went, to the secular arm of the pontifical system of justice.[8] Sometimes the prisoners from Tor di Nona were executed on the spot in the piazza just outside its entrance gate, and we can see a series of heads and bodies on display in Antonio Tempesta's 1593 image of the piazza. This graphic manifestation of local justice greeted pilgrims bound for St Peter's even before they spotted the statues of Rome's patron saints, Peter and Paul, gracing the bridgehead of Ponte Sant'Angelo. It is probably significant that Étienne Dupérac's map of 1575, tracing the pilgrimage route of the Seven Churches, has carefully omitted exposed bodies and body parts from the bridge to St Peter's, even though he engraved his map two decades before Beatrice Cenci and her family met their deaths on this very same spot.

For some of Tor di Nona's prisoners, however, death came, like Beatrice Cenci's, at the end of a parade. Convicted heretics, for example, were marched down the Via Papalis to Campo de' Fiori, riding on a donkey. Many of them could no longer walk, whether because of torture, or fear, or weakness, or, often, because they had been discreetly strangled in prison to spare them the agony of death by burning.[9] This, famously, was the trajectory taken by the Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno on 17 February 1600, the first Thursday in Lent of the Jubilee Year.

If the architecture of the Corte dei Savelli remains a mystery, the layout of Tor di Nona is documented in detail, not least because the pope who finally destroyed that prison in 1667, Alexander VII, was one of the most conscientious archivists the Vatican has ever known. Thanks to his meticulous records, we know the prison's plan, from the distribution of its dank riverside cells, where flood waters and rats found such easy entrance, to the siting of its torture chamber on the top floor, so that the procurator fiscal could string the cord of the *strappado* high.[10] We even know the nicknames for its various cells: 'the little nun', 'Purgatory', 'Hell', 'Glory', 'the Florentine'.[11]

Within the span of a few years, therefore, both of Rome's busiest working prisons were not only replaced; they were utterly erased from the face of the earth. The part of the Corte dei Savelli that was not swallowed up by the Venerable English College became a thoroughly modern seventeenth-century residential palazzo. The redoubtable concrete of the ancient Tor di Nona lent its strength to the foundations of a new theatre, the Apollo — whose early patrons would include Queen Christina of Sweden, and where Giuseppe Verdi's *Il Trovatore* would receive its premiere in 1853.[12] The Apollo Theatre fell at last to the flood control operations of the late 1880s in Rome, but the Tiber embankment still curves out to make room for the flattened remains of the old Tor di Nona.[13] The New Prison that replaced the Corte dei Savelli, with its dramatic Egyptian-revival lines, is now the headquarters of Italy's national anti-Mafia operations — its halls may be light and spacious, but they are also secure.[14]

This resolute push for prison reform in seventeenth-century Rome was part of a larger effort to rehabilitate the city in visitors' eyes; for the stories of Beatrice Cenci and Giordano Bruno, those two famous residents of Rome's two infamous prisons, had quickly taken on lives of their own. The pageants of guilt that were designed to portray the abused girl and the exuberant philosopher as terrible criminals managed instead to suggest that the condemned were themselves victims of legal violence, and legal shortsightedness — in short, of injustice. In many ways, the Jubilee of 1650 and the prison reforms of the 1650s and 1660s were attempts to redress the extreme positions that Pope Clement VIII had come to adopt during the Jubilee of 1600.[15]

But there were also critics far closer to hand in time and space, none, perhaps, more subtle and more sensitive than the painter who was as well known in the halls of Tor di Nona and the Corte dei Savelli as he was in the salons of the city, Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio. It is hard to think of Caravaggio's strong, determined Judith in *Judith and Holofernes* (1599; Figure 9.1) without thinking about the Cenci trial, and many scholars do link the painting with the trial — it was taking place at the same time that Caravaggio painted this striking picture.[16] But Judith, the Hebrew widow who seduces and slays the Assyrian warlord Holofernes, was a great Biblical heroine, a model to be followed. Does this choice of subjects mean that Caravaggio is suggesting that Beatrice was also an avenging Judith for her tormented family?[17]

About one point we can be certain: Caravaggio, for all the violence of the life he led in Rome, Naples, Malta, and Sicily, was a painter of extraordinary compassion, and compassion is what most Romans, if not the Pope, felt for Beatrice Cenci. They feel it still.[18] Caravaggio may well have watched her die, along with her brother Giacomo, tortured in public, and finally finished off with a hammer, the weapon that they themselves had turned against Francesco Cenci. Beatrice and her stepmother were beheaded, and not neatly. Only her twelve-year-old brother Bernardino was released after witnessing the destruction of his entire family and hearing that he himself would be condemned to serve as a galley slave rowing under the whip — a dread sentence that was eventually commuted.[19] Multiple executions like these were a rare, and extremely serious, spectacle, usually the punishment for conspiracies to kill the Pope.[20]

The execution of Giordano Bruno must have been even more controversial than the beheading of Beatrice Cenci. It was aborted at least once before it finally took place, and it was carried out early in the morning, a quick auto-da-fé before the ashes of the philosopher and his pyre were swept up and dumped into the Tiber like the victims, human and animal, of the ancient Roman arenas.[21] It is hard to know what Caravaggio might have made of Giordano Bruno, who was sequestered in yet another Roman prison, the prison of the Holy Office, except for the final week of his life, when he was held in the Tor di Nona. For one brief moment on the morning of 17 February, the painter might have seen him parade down the Via Papalis to the stake at the end of the Campo de' Fiori.[22] What Caravaggio knew about Bruno, aside from the fact of his condemnation, is hard to gauge. The inventory of goods from the artist's last Roman house includes a chest with twelve books, almost the same number as Lucrezia Borgia, who had fourteen.[23] Sixty

years later, Gianlorenzo Bernini would own four hundred volumes, and Francesco Borromini a thousand.[24] In any case, Bruno's books were banned by the Inquisition shortly after his death.

On the other hand, like Lucrezia Borgia, Caravaggio may have had only a handful of personal books because he had access to such good libraries. Certainly, the artist kept extremely learned company, including his patron Francesco Maria del Monte, the Florentine cardinal for whom he painted an alchemical image of the three Olympian brothers Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto.[25] This enigmatic painting, on the ceiling of what is now called the Casino Ludovisi after a subsequent owner, is nothing if not learned, and the glassy sphere that surrounds its representation of the Sun and Moon may not be drawn quite as directly from Aristotle's old-fashioned cosmology as it seems to be.[26]

In some crucial respects, in fact, Bruno and Caravaggio seem to have been thinking along similar lines, whether because of indirect contacts or, as seems more likely, because of the general *Zeitgeist*.[27] Despite his early romance with the Platonic world of transcendent Ideas, Bruno had concluded by the 1580s that God and the universe existed only in the world we see here and now.[28] His philosophy was thus a harbinger of Galileo's world of experiment — what Galileo himself called *esperienza* — the spirit of scrutiny that ushered in the scientific era, and more than incidentally drove the change in late sixteenth-century artistic taste that separated the conscious artifice of a Bronzino, or a Salviati, or a Cavaliere d'Arpino, from Caravaggio's immediacy.

Bruno, moreover, believed in a universe of infinite immensity, not a single Copernican solar system, but a numberless multitude of solar systems whirling through space that consisted of a single, all-pervading world soul, a spirit of love and creation that had become Bruno's real definition of God.[29] The stars and planets and everything on them were made of atoms that combined and recombined in an endless cycle of change, but the system itself, like God, was immortal. This was the philosophy that Giordano Bruno intended to tell the world, and he expected the world, and of all people, Pope Clement VIII, to hail him as a liberator for freeing them from the shackles of a finite universe.[30] Columbus, he noted in one of his philosophical dialogues, *La cena delle ceneri* [The Ash Wednesday Supper], had only crossed the sea, but he, Bruno, had penetrated the cosmos.[31]

As Bruno brought philosophy into the here and now, so Caravaggio brought painting. A painting like Francesco Salviati's *Deposition,* from the Roman church of Santa Maria dell'Anima, revels in artifice; the artist could not make his debt to Michelangelo more explicit if he tried. The flesh of these holy figures looks more like Carrara marble than skin over muscle, and deliberately so. Their beauty consists in their unreality, their artfulness. Caravaggio's portrayal of the same scene for the Chiesa Nuova in Rome is no less indebted to sculpture, in this case to an antique sarcophagus depicting the death of Meleager, but what strikes any viewer, even before the figure's theatrical pose, is their modern dress. This Christ was crucified in Rome yesterday, not sixteen centuries earlier in Roman-occupied Judaea.

When Raphael, in his *Madonna of Foligno* (Pinacoteca Vaticana), shows the Madonna and Child appearing over Foligno in 1512 as his patron Sigismondo de'

FIG. 9.1. Caravaggio, *Judith and Holofernes* (1599). Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica.

FIG. 9.2. Caravaggio, *The Taking of Christ* (*c.* 1598). Courtesy of the Jesuit Community, Leeson Street, Dublin, who acknowledge the kind generosity of the late Dr Marie Lea-Wilson. Photograph © National Gallery of Ireland.

Conti looks on, a pale golden circle indicates that she has just come down from the depths of heaven, and the azure circle of cherubs keeps her firmly within a different, higher reality than that of the luxuriant Umbrian countryside she has intervened to protect. When the Madonna and Child appear in Caravaggio's *Seven Works of Mercy* (*c.* 1607), that protective celestial sphere has disappeared; the holy figures have descended into the misery and chaos of a Neapolitan street to become the acts of compassion that begin, on a tiny scale everywhere, to relieve that terrible state of violence and deprivation. It was on these same streets that Giordano Bruno first conceived his idea of a God who lived *in* everything rather than *beyond* everything, and it is certainly easy to think, looking at this powerful painting, that Caravaggio shared his conviction.[32]

And whether or not Caravaggio saw Giordano Bruno's execution, he understood the tragic overtones of any death at the hands of authority. In many ways, Bruno presented a more complex and potentially a more dangerous case for Pope Clement's Jubilee than Beatrice Cenci, whose death was enacted in public in order to uphold the rights of a paterfamilias — any paterfamilias, no matter how cruel and depraved — over the rest of his family. The Cenci were brought to trial and killed fairly quickly, over the course of a few months. Bruno, on the other hand, languished in the prison of the Holy Office from 1593, when he was extradited from Venice, to the first week of February 1600.

Inquisitorial prisoners were kept in conditions that later came in for sharp criticism within the Church; the prisoners were fed and clothed decently, and confined to rooms rather than cells, with windows.[33] Bruno's first prison, in Venice, was a section of the old thirteenth-century Dominican convent of San Pietro in Castello — another prison that no longer exists. Napoleon levelled it in 1799 and turned the site into a garden. It is now called Parco Garibaldi.[34] In confinement, Bruno was still able to beckon his cellmates to a window and point out the stars, declaring as he did so that each one of those celestial lights was a world — by which he meant a planetary system orbiting around a sun.[35] The Holy Office in Rome seem to have provided Bruno with more spacious conditions than the prison in Venice, where the population sharing his cell had grown to as many as six inmates at once. Nonetheless, the central corridor of the Inquisitorial prison in Rome led straight to the torture chamber, with its familiar rope and pulley hung from the rafters.[36] Nothing could quell the prisoners' fears, or soothe the injuries many of them sustained as their torturers ferreted out evidence that often bore no relationship to the truth.

The conditions of these inquisitorial prisons show how difficult it could be to define heresy — often a crime of thoughts and words rather than actions. Some of the people who ran foul of the Inquisition in their own lifetimes were eventually made saints, from Bernardino of Siena to Bruno's fiercest adversary, the Jesuit theologian Robert Bellarmine.[37]

For the most part, Bruno's trial seems to have proceeded with scrupulous attention to legal procedure, though our information about the trial is incomplete.[38] The proceedings of the Venetian Inquisition are still preserved in the Venetian State Archive, but the records of its Vatican counterpart were carted off to Paris

Fig. 9.3. Caravaggio, *Madonna of the Pilgrims* (*Madonna dei Pellegrini*) or *Madonna of Loreto* (1603–05). Rome, Sant'Agostino.

by Napoleon, who regarded Bruno's trial and execution as abominable. The papers that document his destruction at the hands of the Inquisition may well have been made into cardboard in 1814, or else have fallen into a ditch somewhere between Paris and Rome. The only record to survive in any detail is a summary made for the Inquisitors' use in the last stages of the trial; this was rediscovered in the Vatican Secret Archive ('secret' in this case meaning 'private') by its prefect, Angelo Mercati, and published with an alarmingly virulent commentary in 1942.[39]

From this *Sommario* it is clear that the one occasion on which the Roman Inquisitors departed drastically from correct procedure during Bruno's trial came in his seventeenth interrogation, when they ordered that he should be questioned *stricte*, that is, under torture.[40] There were only two circumstances under which the Roman Inquisition admitted torture: when the accused continued to deny holding an objectionable opinion, and when the accused was clearly hiding the names of accomplices. Bruno was never reluctant to voice his opinions, although he refused to identify his ideas as heretical, and he had no accomplices, for he jealously claimed his philosophy as his own. Hence the Cardinal Inquisitors who conducted his trial lacked any valid legal reason to torture him, and Pope Clement VIII overruled their decision. Clearly the Cardinals, frustrated by the philosopher's intransigence (and by his skill at argumentation), could only try to exert their power over his physical person. The text of Bruno's sentence shows how deeply his criticisms continued to cut, most of all, perhaps, his refusal to recognize their right to judge him.[41]

In any case, the Inquisitors had their revenge when they read him the verdict of their deliberations. They met for this final occasion in the house of one of their number, Cardinal Madruzzo, who had a palazzo on Piazza Navona. Here they forced Bruno to his knees and read him his condemnation to death.[42] To this he replied: 'Perhaps you are more afraid to read me that sentence than I am to receive it.'[43] That quickness of tongue may have been the reason that they decided to gag him on his way to the stake.[44] But the ceremony of sentencing did not end there. For another two hours, the philosopher was subjected to the harrowing rite known as degradation, in which he was dressed in every insignia of his priestly and religious calling, and then ceremonially stripped of them one by one while a priest — who was well paid for these strenuous efforts — forbade him to participate ever again in the communal life of the Church. Off came his priestly stole, his deacon's scapular, his Dominican habit, and at last, a barber shaved his head and beard, destroying his friar's tonsure — which he had let grow out some twenty-four years earlier.[45] It was as a bald man dressed in sackcloth that Bruno entered the prison of Tor di Nona, where teams of friars would spend the next eight days trying to convince him to repent, Franciscans, Augustinians, and his own Dominicans, until at last they gave up and passed him on to the Confraternity of St John the Beheaded. These laymen, dressed in hooded robes that disguised their identity, fed him his last breakfast of almond biscuits and Marsala before putting him on the mule that would carry him to the Campo de' Fiori and escorting him to his pyre.[46] A cold, 'a light catarrh', added to the miseries of his final week.[47]

Interestingly, when Caravaggio painted arrests and martyrdoms, he often painted himself into the scenes, which take place, in any case, in a world that belongs

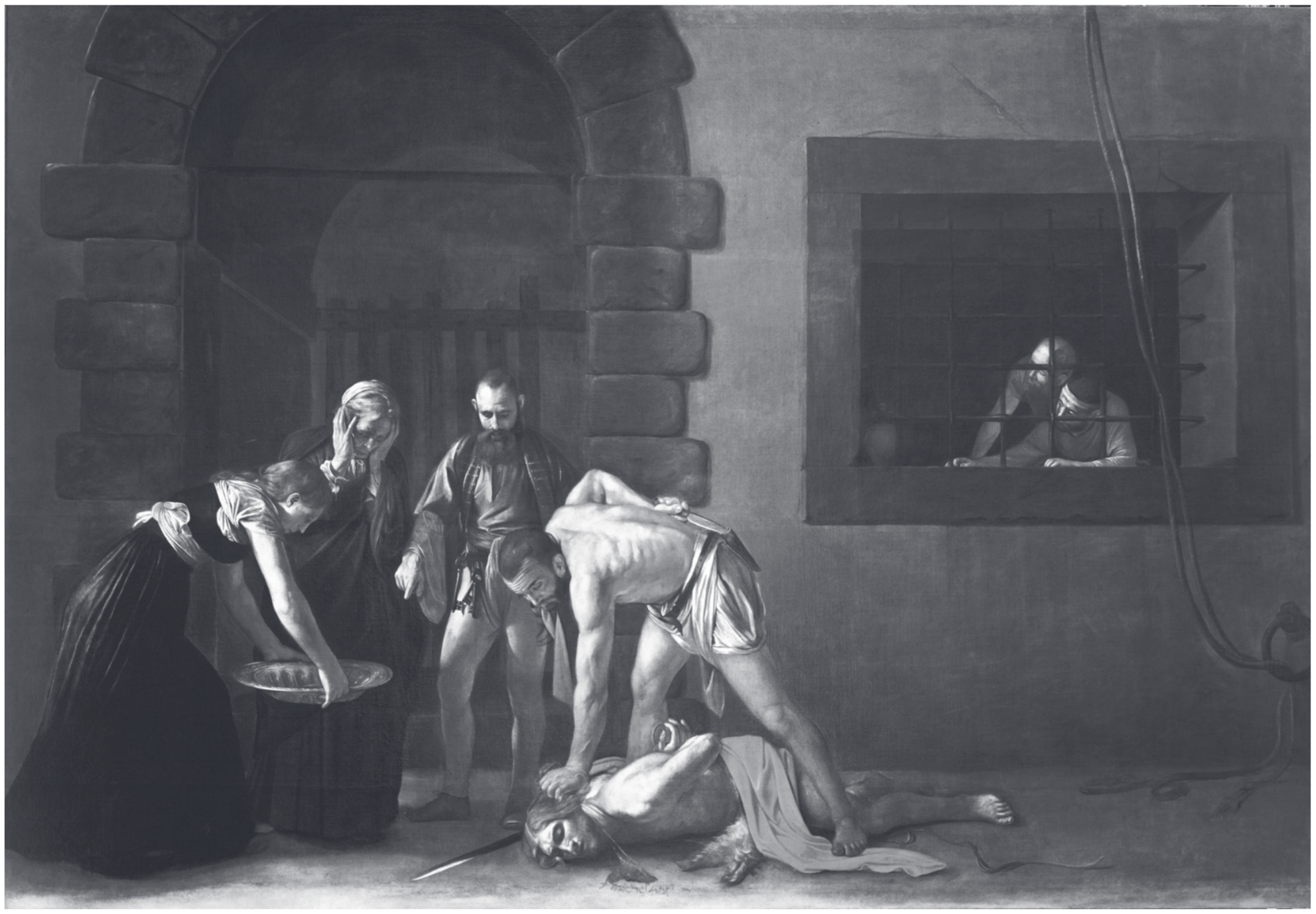

Fig. 9.4. Caravaggio, *The Beheading of St John the Baptist* (1608). Valletta, Malta, Co-Cathedral of St John.

recognizably to his century rather than to that of Christ, or St Matthew. Caravaggio is a martyr of a different sort: the Greek word means 'witness', and this sad, often violent, but deeply compassionate man looks out on circumstances he cannot control, on injustices he cannot stop, but to which he can still bear witness. He testifies to the slaying of St Matthew in a Roman bath (*Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*, Church of San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome), and to the arrest of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane (*The Taking of Christ*, National Gallery, Dublin; Figure 9.2); he holds up a mirror to his viewers and asks them if they will be any more courageous than he in the face of all this pain and all this courage. If ever there has been a painter who understood repentance, it is Caravaggio. He points up the guilt of human frailty, as Baroque painters like Simone Cantarini would do in the figure of St Peter, weeping bitterly at how swiftly fear could make him deny Christ.

How much did Caravaggio's piercing interpretation of Christianity affect the practice of that religion in Rome? This is the man whose *Madonna of Loreto* (Figure 9.3) put two peasant pilgrims in a chapel of the fashionable church of Sant'Agostino, kneeling before the Virgin Mary with an awe of pure sincerity, and it is they whom the Christ Child blesses, not the elegant Romans who criticized the painted woman's dirty bonnet and her companion's bare, dirty feet. As Christ and the Virgin see, and Caravaggio makes us see, their souls are clean, and that, he shows us, is all that matters.

Did this man, so often on the wrong side of the law himself, eventually help to make popes like Innocent X and Alexander VII see the humanity in Rome's prisoners, make them think back to a Christianity rooted in the Bible rather than in ceremony? Or is his message more bleak — this painter who signed only one work, his *Beheading of John the Baptist* in Malta (Figure 9.4), writing his name in the blood of John the Baptist, as the saint lies knifed in a back alley by a coven of conspirators? What we certainly know is that Caravaggio has recently become the world's most popular painter, outstripping even Michelangelo.[48] His way of speaking straight to the heart, of facing guilt without flinching, is a language the world seems to need, as urgently now as in the year 1600.

Notes to Chapter 10

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4. Michele Di Sivo, 'Sulle carceri dei tribunali penali di Roma: Campidoglio e Tor di Nona', in *Carceri, carcerieri, carcerati: Dall'antico regime all'Ottocento*. Seminario di studi, Castello Visconti di San Vito, Somma Lombardo, 14–15 dicembre 2001, ed. by Livio Antonielli (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006), pp. 9–22.
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8. Eugenio Canone, 'L'editto di proibizione delle opere di Bruno e Campanella', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 1:1–2 (1995), 43–61 (pp. 51–56).
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10. Cirillo Fornili, *Delinquenti e carcerati a Roma*, pp. 85–87.
11. Canone, 'L'editto di proibizione', p. 51.
12. Alessandro Ademollo, *I teatri romani nel secolo decimosettimo* (Rome: Pasqualucci, 1888), pp. 89–97; Canone, 'L'editto di proibizione', p. 51.
13. Canone, 'L'editto di proibizione', p. 51.
14. Cirillo Fornili, *Delinquenti e carcerati a Roma*, pp. 100–10.
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17. On the myth of Judith, see Luciana Borsetto, 'Giuditta', in Alessandro Cinquegrani (ed.), *Il mito nella letteratura italiana*, Opera diretta da Pietro Gibellini; *Percorsi*, vol. V.2: *L'avventura dei personaggi* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2009), pp. 297–337.
18. Nicholl, *Screaming in the Castle*; Sicurezza, 'Ritratto di Beatrice Cenci?'; Langdon, *Caravaggio*, pp. 159–62.
19. Gustavo Brigante Colonna and Emilio Chiorandi, *Il processo Cenci* (Milan: Mondadori, 1934).
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22. Firpo and Segonds; Luigi Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno* (Rome: Salerno, 1993).
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42. A complete text of Bruno's sentence is published in Firpo, *Il processo*, pp. 229–44; an English version in Rowland, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 287–89.
43. Kaspar Schoppe, letter to Konrad Rittershausen, Rome, 17 February 1600, cited in Firpo, *Il processo*, p. 351; Firpo and Segonds, pp. 499–515.
44. Firpo and Segonds, p. 637.
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48. See, e.g., Michael Kimmelman, 'An Italian Antihero's Time to Shine', *New York Times*, 10 March 2010.

CHAPTER 11

❖

‘Maculae Galilei me perplexum habent.’ Campanella, Sunspots and the Temptations of Pythagoreanism

Germana Ernst

1. Tobias Adami’s Meeting with Galileo

In May 1613 Tobias Adami, along with Rudolph von Bünau, the young aristocrat who had been entrusted to him for tutoring, went to Florence to meet Galileo. He had been encouraged to carry out this journey and this visit by Tommaso Campanella, with whom he had established a friendship and engaged in a lively philosophical debate, during a stay in Naples which had lasted for eight months.[1] As Adami himself would recall ten years later, his meeting with the great scientist had so convinced him that he had started to doubt the truth of the traditional astronomical system and to lean more and more definitively towards Copernican ideas.[2] When Galileo had shown him his recent discoveries in the skies, Adami could not but give his assent to what he saw with his own eyes. The new system, despite the polemics and discussions, did not appear to him to be in conflict either with sensory experience, when it was understood correctly, nor with the Scriptures, which when they referred to astronomical doctrines did not intend to define anything with any certainty, ‘but such references were to be adapted to the understanding of the people’, since the aim of the Scriptures was to deal with more sublime matters.[3]

Immediately after the meeting with Galileo, Adami quickly wrote to Campanella, inviting him to reconsider some aspects of the movements of the heavens, such as the *motus raptus*, in other words the presumed movement of the sphere of the fixed stars over a twenty-four hour period, which seemed to be in obvious conflict with nature and with sensory experience corrected by reason.[4] In his reply, Campanella expressed his happiness at the news that the new ideas about the heavens had been confirmed, but lamented the fact that his unhappy condition as a prisoner had prevented him from accompanying Adami on the visit to his friend Galileo in that city whence he said had come ‘la sua parte migliore’ [the best part of him]. Such words underlined Campanella’s feelings of affection and aspiration towards Florence, the city where he had stayed for a brief time in his youth (October 1592) and which would also be celebrated by him on other occasions for its Renaissance of Platonism promoted by the Medici and for the way it had been favourable to

Galileo's researches.[5] Nevertheless, at the same time, Campanella warned Adami to be very careful in his choices and not to venture carelessly on terrain that was not yet certain. Since it was impossible for him to have direct experience of these things, Campanella preferred to abstain from definitive judgments; if in the future it became necessary to admit the movement of the earth, that would not put a definitive end to the philosophical system he upheld, whose fundamental principles would in any case retain their validity, in particular the principle whereby the sun had to be seen as the father and the earth as the mother of all earthly things.[6]

As the years went by Adami became more and more convinced of the truth of the Copernican system and, in his opinion, Campanella too had begun 'to have doubts, or at least to waver in his mind'.[7] To confirm this statement Adami referred not just to the *Apologia pro Galileo*, written by Campanella in 1616 and published in Frankfurt in 1622, but also to a passage which Campanella had decided to add to his *Physiologia*, which was the first of the four parts of his *Philosophia realis*. In fact, in the body of section 5 of Chapter 1, which is entitled *De origine stellarum*, we encounter a lengthy passage in square brackets, where Campanella advances the hypothesis that the stars can be 'systems', depending on their different colours and on the recent astronomical discoveries.[8]

It is important to state at once that the term *systema* in Campanella has a range of meanings.[9] In many cases it stands for the doctrine, called by him 'Pythagorean', of the elemental composition of the heavenly bodies, which is in opposition both to Aristotelian philosophy, which claimed that these were made of the quintessence or fifth element, and to Telesio's ideas, which held that the essence of stars was fire. If one accepts the Pythagorean doctrine, Campanella specifies in the added passage, it is necessary to admit that heavy matter is not placed exclusively on our earth, as Telesio believed, but is also found in the other heavenly bodies, though in different portions. But this did not mean abandoning the doctrine of the sun as father and the earth as mother of all things. In a marginal note Campanella emphasizes his own growing propensity towards sharing some aspects of Pythagorean doctrine, taking care to stress that in any case his philosophy was not crumbling (*non corruit*).[10]

2. Campanella's Youthful Interest in Pythagoras

Adami's exhortation to Campanella to reconsider certain aspects of his own cosmology arrived during a period of ferment which had been going on for some time. In many passages of Campanella's works we find eloquent testimony to the tumultuous crisis which had engulfed his philosophy from 1611 onwards, when, after reading Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610), he had sent Galileo a long letter in Latin in which his enthusiasm for the extraordinary novelties in the skies sat alongside doubts over some issues and requests to clarify and expand some points.[11] In the course of this process of rethinking, Pythagorean themes, which had aroused Campanella's interest right from his youth, began to re-emerge.

On 14 October 1592 Baccio Valori, librarian of the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, in a letter addressed to Lorenzo Usimbardi, Secretary of State, informed Grand Duke Ferdinand I that, after a couple of weeks' stay in Florence, Campanella

had left that very morning for Venice. Baccio Valori considered the Dominican friar to be a 'giovane di senno maturo, e di varia dottrina e recondita' [a young man of mature wisdom, and of a wide range of recherché erudition], even though he did not hide his serious worries about his belief in Telesio's philosophy, which, according to what people said, was about to be prohibited because it was in conflict with scholastic theology which was 'fondata in Aristotele da lui così riprovato' [founded on Aristotle which Telesio so criticized].[12] Valori expresses his admiration for 'l'eccellenza de' suoi concetti, che veramente sono e alti e nuovi' [the excellence of Campanella's ideas which are genuinely both lofty and original], and which are inspired by Parmenides, Plato and Pythagoras. Campanella had told him that he had written 'molte cose in versi eroici' [many things in epic verse] on Pythagorean philosophy and that he had composed a short poem on Empedocles, as well as one treatise on dreams and another entitled *De sphaera Aristarchi* [On Aristarchus's Sphere] 'che pose il sole per centro, opinione seguita dal Copernico a' tempi nostri' [which placed the sun at the centre, an opinion followed by Copernicus in our time].[13] In later years Campanella would cite, in the lists of works he had written, this youthful epic entitled *De philosophia Pythagorica,* written in hexameters and now lost, and in his works there are allusions to his interest in Empedocles's philosophy;[14] but Baccio Valori's reference to the *De sphaera Aristarchi* is more obscure and the work was never mentioned by Campanella.[15]

However, Campanella's initial interest in Pythagoreanism had given way to his adherence to Telesio's philosophy. A powerful vision of the cosmos, where the principles of Telesio's cosmology are inserted into a complex metaphysical picture which refers to Origen as well as Hermetic and Platonic themes, is expounded in the eighth chapter of his *Ateismo trionfato* (1607). This passage is presented as a dialogue between the author, rapt in 'sacred ecstasy', and an angelic mind, a Cherub, who communicates profound truths to him on the relationship between the earth and the totality of the world, replying to his questions and solving his doubts. The author's ecstatic contemplation is granted the vision of a 'mondo quasi infinito tutto sottilissimo e purissimo, in cui erano lucenti magioni quasi senza numero sparse, vive, efficaci, rotonde, belle a maraviglia, chiamate stelle' [world that was almost infinite, all of it very thin and very pure, where there were countless shiny mansions scattered around, all alive, powerful, round, marvellously beautiful, called stars]. In the celestial space which was flooded with light, amidst countless stars that were lit up and populated by heavenly spirits, only the earth appeared dark and surrounded by a halo of vapours: 'Fra tante candide e lucenti magioni rotonde, piene di spiriti lieti e gloriosi, vidi una picciola magion negra, oscura, non perfettamente tonda, malinconica, brutta, che sempre manda vapore e fumo ad infettar lo spatio celeste, e questa è la terra, come un neo in mezzo del bel volto del Mondo' [Amidst so many white, round shiny mansions, full of joyful and glorious spirits, I saw a small, dark, obscure house, not perfectly round, but melancholy and ugly, that constantly emitted vapours and smoke to infect the heavenly space, and that was the earth, like a spot in the middle of the beatiful face of the World].[16]

To the question why God has not purified the earth and made it luminous, the Cherub replies that the different condition of where we live compared to the

other stars does not derive from ignorance, or from powerlessness or from the Creator's wickedness, but because the earth is geared towards particular goals. Human existence takes place on the dark earth, which is surrounded by a dense cap of vapours and infested by wicked devils. The devils are opposed by angelic creatures sent by God to help mankind, whose life is thus a constant struggle against diabolical snares and tyranny. Our souls are placed in bodies not in order to serve a penal sentence or to expiate some sin, as Origen believed, but in order to fight against the darkness of the world and become worthy of divine glory.

And it is in this context that Campanella recalls his youthful debate with Nicolantonio Stigliola in Naples, calling Stigliola 'un amico seguace di Copernico' [a friend who was a follower of Copernicus].[17] In this debate Campanella had distanced himself from the doctrines of the Pythagoreans, 'che si pensano entro ogni stella esservi terre, acqua, aria, animali e huomini, come nella nostra' [who believe that inside each star there are lands, water, air, animals and men, just like on earth]. But Stigliola believed these ideas, claiming that it was absurd to think 'che vi fossero tanti esistemi [= sistemi] grandi più de la terra, e non havessero quel che la terra ha, e più' [that there were so many systems that were bigger than the earth but did not have what the earth had and more]. But according to Campanella, to uphold the analogy between the earth and the stars risked expanding evil to the entire cosmos, instead of limiting it and enclosing it within the earth's insignificant dimensions. In the upper worlds 'non ci è morte, guerra, trasmutatione, dolore, malignità, errore; ma tutto è bene, in più e manco grado di bontà e di felicità' [there is no death, war, change, pain, evil, error; but all is good, with greater or lesser degrees of goodness and happiness]. These evils are found only 'tra la terra e 'l cielo, dove conbatteno i dui contrarii caldo e freddo, e per consequenza fan la trasmutatione, mistura, e morte, e dolore' [between the earth and the heavens, where the two contraries of heat and cold fight each other, and consequently produce change, mixture, death and pain]; whereas the other stars 'tutte sono piene di spiriti e d'intelletti, et ognuna di loro è una republica santa, gloriosa e gioconda' [are all full of spirits and intellects, and each one of them is a holy republic, glorious and happy].[18]

The youthful discussions with Stigliola are also recalled in Campanella's *Metaphysica*. According to Stigliola, it was irrational to suppose that stars which were so much bigger than the earth were merely 'ignis ociosus' [inert fire], and did not instead contain 'all the elements and plants and animals and men'. Such doctrines had been upheld in antiquity by the Pythagoreans and in recent times, as Campanella boldly specifies, they had been revived, though in a different way, by Bruno ('et aliter Nolanus'). To such arguments Campanella had replied that, unlike his friend, he had found it irrational to multiply onto other worlds the sufferings and evils present in our own: 'In fact our system is dominated by ignorance, unhappiness and deceit, God is blasphemed, no one puts their faith in him nor recognizes him. Consequently, if God had created other unhappy systems of this type, it would seem that he had displayed not so much his goodness as his anger.'[19]

3. The Return of Pythagoreanism

However, a few years later Galileo's astronomical discoveries put everything back up for discussion — and it is very interesting to see how Campanella tries to adapt the new data to his own principles, which are corrected and reinterpreted. This crisis and this effort at conciliation, which are documented by additions, appendices and changes made to his own texts,[20] are particularly in evidence in the period between 1611 and 1616, the year in which the Inquisition's decree banning Copernicus brought a brusque halt to this intense period of rethinking.

'But after I saw Galileo's observations, I began to think many new things and to agree with Pythagoras in many respects', Campanella confesses in one passage.[21] Amongst the Pythagorean doctrines he accepted without particular problems was the question of the elemental composition of the planets, towards which he had been inclined even before Galileo's discoveries. His doubts regarding the idea that the stars were composed of fire derived above all from their different colours. This was a problem that was extremely difficult ('perdifficile') to solve, and it had tormented him ('me torsit') for a long time. The yellow colour of the Moon, Mars's red colour, Saturn's leaden colour and Venus's silvery colour had made him suspect that they were not made up solely of fire, which by its nature is very white: 'there is not the same purity in all the stars, and for that reason there is not the same whiteness: or perhaps these are systems that contain something more than just fire',[22] just as Stigliola had maintained. Discoveries by Galileo such as the phases of Venus or the fact that Jupiter's satellites were eclipsed by the shadow of the planet round which they orbited had brought to the fore and reinforced Campanella's leanings towards the doctrine of the planets as 'systems'.[23]

In addition, he no longer seemed so certain of the argument he had used in his youth in replying to Stigliola — namely, that one should not multiply the number of places where evil abounds, and birth and death occur.[24] As for the question of the possibility of the other heavenly bodies being inhabited, Campanella does not rule out the idea that other forms of life might exist on such stars, and dissociates himself from Galileo who declared that on this matter he shared the position of 'Apelles' (the pseudonym of the Jesuit Christoph Scheiner), according to whom this was an opinion that was 'falsa et damnabilis' [false and to be condemned], without explaining his reasons, though these were probably theological, and connected with Christ's passion and death.[25] If on other stars one finds natural elements similar to those found on earth, Campanella believes that they will produce similar effects, even though, obviously, any living beings there will be different from those on earth: on our own planet we see that climatic and environmental differences give rise to peoples with different characteristics. If Paracelsus talks of marine men and subterranean men who are different from those found on earth, it is all the more likely that any inhabitants of the stars will be very different from us.[26]

An important point in favour of the doctrines of Empedocles and the Pythagoreans lies in the fact that they offered the possibility of interpreting the verses of Genesis 1. 6–7 in the most satisfying way: the passage states that the 'firmament' (*firmamentum*), created by God on the first day, has the function of separating the waters above the

firmament from those on earth. As Campanella recalls in his *Apologia pro Galileo* and in the third book of his *Theologia*, the Genesis passage, which contains genuine *cruces* of Biblical interpretation, had elicited tortuous interpretations on the part of the Church Fathers and scholastic theologians.[27] All the hypotheses advanced in order to explain what is meant by the expressions 'the waters above the firmament' and 'the firmament' itself were too complicated and not very persuasive. The doctrines on the fiery composition of the stars, and especially the Aristotelian idea according to which the heavenly bodies were composed of a fifth essence that was inalterable and incorruptible, were incompatible with the passages of Scripture, which instead could be explained easily by adopting the Pythagorean view that the heavenly bodies are composed of elements.

4. The Problem of Sunspots

Thus some aspects of Galileo's discoveries brought back into focus Pythagorean doctrines which had already aroused the interest of the young Campanella, who had no difficulty in admitting that, if the planets are systems, rather than being inhabited by angelic spirits, they might be inhabited by forms of life compatible with their composition. There was also the advantage that such doctrines were not only not in conflict with passages from Scripture, but on the contrary allowed a simpler and more literal interpretation. They also offered an excellent solution which meant that Aristotelian cosmology could be abandoned with its insistence on the unalterability of the heavens, an idea that had been seriously questioned because of recent celestial phenomena such as the appearance of a new star and comets in the highest levels of the skies.

However, other aspects and other possible consequences of Galileo's discoveries involved more delicate problems and views which Campanella did not accept. The point that Campanella was keenest on, and which he considered an indisputable principle, concerned the primacy and exceptional nature of the sun, which in his philosophical vision was the only star that was made up of pure fire, and precisely because of this prerogative was the seat of the cosmic principle of heat. That is why Galileo's most disconcerting discovery for Campanella was that of the sunspots: 'Galileo's sunspots perplex me.'[28] Since he came to know of Galileo's three letters on this controversial topic at a moment very close to their publication in the spring of 1613, one can suppose that his exhortation to Adami and Bünau to journey to Florence was connected precisely with his desire to explore this question further.[29]

Campanella's special interest in this problem is confirmed by allusions that are found in other texts of his, not just those dealing with natural philosophy. In a chapter of his *Ethica*, he talks of the marvellous invention of the lamp, thanks to which man, imitating the sun, is able to transform night into day, and wonders whether the sun is nourished, as is suggested by the recently discovered spots of little clouds that surround it.[30] In his *Legazioni ai Maomettani*, the fourth part of *Quod reminiscentur*, in order to refute Mohammed's fantastical cosmology, he states that the heavenly things mentioned in that cosmology are totally imaginary, since they are not even visible to the marvellous optical instrument ('oculare mirificum') invented

by his friend Galileo, which allows our eyes to penetrate into the hidden stars and the secret things of the skies: 'with it we were only able to see around the sun some little clouds that are quickly dispersed.'[31] In Book 14 of his *Theologia*, which Amerio entitles *Magia e grazia*, Campanella speaks about several kinds of devils, and reports that according to the Abbot Trithemius it is possible to see devils made of air by looking intensely at the sun: but the Abbot is wrong, because in actual fact these are not devils, but sunspots recently discovered by Galileo.[32]

We also find long passages on Galileo's discoveries in Campanella's commentary on the *Adulatio perniciosa* [Dangerous Adulation], one of the Latin poems written by Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, who in 1623 became pope as Urban VIII.[33] In the ode, which deals with the poisons that abound in court flattery, this distinguished author twice quotes in praiseworthy terms the discoveries of his friend the Tuscan scientist. On the first occasion he refers to the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn, which had been found thanks to Galileo's optical instrument; in the second mention he recalls the discovery of sunspots which obscure even the face of the sun, which used to be thought of as consisting solely of the purest light: this means that external appearances can be different from reality, and the life of a sovereign, which in appearance seems happy, can in reality be afflicted by anguish and ambushes:

> Non semper extra quod radiat iubar
> splendescit intra: respicimus nigras
> in sole (quis credat?) retectas
> arte tua Galilaee labes.[34]
>
> [Not always does the light that shines outward
> radiate within: we can see the black
> stains (who would have believed it?) discovered
> by your art, Galileo.]

In his commentary on these lines Campanella deals with the astronomical novelties at length. If even the sun, which was considered the purest and whitest star, contains obscurities, all the more reason for the Calabrian Pythagoreans' doctrine on the elemental nature of the stars to triumph, and this is confirmed by the different colours of the stars and planets, from the flaming colour of Mars, Aldebaran and Antares to the leaden hues of Saturn and Algol and the yellowish colour of the Hyades and the Pleiades. As for the sunspots, Campanella not only mentions the opinion of Telesio, who wondered whether there was not present in the sun some matter that was obscured by the brilliance of its light, but he even has the audacity to quote (in a learned commentary on poems written by the Pope and dedicated to him!) a 'certain man from Nola' ('quidam Nolanus'), Giordano Bruno, who had advanced the hypothesis that in the different heavenly bodies some obscure parts were present, which we cannot see because they are hidden by their brilliance;[35] and there is also an echo of Bruno in a passage that proposes an image of the universe in which every heavenly body can be considered as the centre around which other bodies orbit:

> In truth I believe that stars which are invisible to us do not rotate just around Jupiter and Saturn, but also around all the fixed stars and the planets, in very many amphitheatres of the whole universe, and there one can see the riches of

> divine wisdom, power and love, such that these are the wheels within wheels which Ezechiel's prophecy speaks of.[36]

5. *Pabulum Solis* [The Food of the Sun]

We find the most specific treatment of this courageous but tortuous revision of Telesio's cosmology in the tenth *Quaestio* appended to the Paris edition (1637) of Campanella's *Physiologia*.[37] Entitled *De caeli et terrae natura*, it is subdivided into four dense sections, is extremely complex and constitutes a significant example of what Michel Lerner talks about when he observes that some parts of Campanella's works tend to resemble more a collage of opinions which he held in successive stages (but not always expounded in coherent order) rather than texts which express, on their date of publication, the latest stage of his thinking.[38]

The final pages of the second section are devoted to sunspots, and Campanella informs us that he had added these pages many years later to the previous pages, after reading Galileo's three letters. He declares that he is absolutely in agreement with his friend in ruling out the idea that the spots might be stars or 'clusters of stars which come together and then separate'.[39] As for the hypothesis advanced by the scientist that the spots are similar to clouds or vapours, Campanella observes that Galileo ought to have specified their origin more clearly: in fact it had to be ruled out that such vapours rise up from the earth, since they would be dispersed before reaching such high spaces. But, above all, Campanella criticizes the proposal Galileo had put forward, though only as a hypothesis, that these vapours are 'the sun's food' (*pabulum solis*),[40] given to it 'in order to reconstitute the huge light that constantly expands and is diffused by the sun throughout the world'.[41] This is an almost literal reference to a passage in the third letter where, after comparing the spots to 'nugole o fumi' [clouds or vapours], Galileo advances the following hypothesis, whose probability is confirmed by analogous experiences:

> And if someone were to argue that in order to sustain the immense light that constantly spreads from this great lamp through the furthermost reaches of the universe, it would have to be fed food and fuel without end, then he would indeed find not only one but a hundred experiences, each in agreement, in which we see that all materials set ablaze and converted to light at first turn to a dark and obscure color. Thus we see in wood, straw, paper, candles, and in sum in all that burns that the flame is implanted in and rises from those parts of this material that had first turned black.[42]

Campanella disagrees radically with this idea since it presupposes that light has a corporeal nature in this atomistic view. Instead, in his view, light is an active and non-corporeal principle, so has no need for nourishment in order to be produced and to expand:

> I do not believe that the sun is nourished in order to reconstitute light. For light is non-corporeal, whereas vapour is corporeal, so that vapour cannot act as nourishment for light. For this to happen, light would have to be constituted by atoms, as Democritus held, and be reconstitued by new atoms without any active force; or it would be necessary for a new sun every day to be reborn from atoms in the Ganges and be extinguished in the Atlantic, as Epicurus foolishly dreamed.[43]

According to Campanella, 'Galileo is defective here in that he has not explained what he thinks about light and seems to agree with Democritus.'[44] Even in these passages Campanella continues to praise Galileo, as he usually does, calling him 'mirificus', 'ingens', 'magnus caeli nuncius' [amazing, wonderful, the great messenger of the heavens], but here he expresses a critical judgement, regretting that 'he has not managed to free himself entirely from popular imaginings'.[45] According to Campanella's philosophy, action does not come about in the ways indicated by the atomists or Empedocles, in other words by diffusion of its own substance by the thing that acts or by the spontaneous movement of atoms, nor through a passage from potentiality to action, as Aristotle held, but rather 'through the diffusion of an active nature'. Returning to his own metaphysical doctrines, which were based on the three principles, which he called 'primalitates' [primalities], of Power, Wisdom and Love, Campanella points out:

> What is active by nature possesses the power, wisdom (or sense) and love of its own magnification, multiplication and diffusion, in order to assimilate itself to God who is great, eternal and immense, as I taught in my *Metaphysica*. Thus the sun's heat, since it is active, and light itself, since it is an aspect and manifestation of heat, which touch regards as heat and the eye considers to be light, possesses the power of being able to multiply itself. Therefore it has no need for nourishment in order to grow and be always sufficient, but rather needs a subject in which to grow.[46]

Even allowing the hypothesis that the spots are vapours that rise up as far as the sun, they certainly do not have the function of reconstituting its light which has become defective; instead the spots are the sign of a progressive transformation of every body into heat and heavenly substance, a transformation worked by the sun itself, which tends towards the continuous expansion of its own realm. Light has no need to be restored, because it multiplies itself; it is not diminished when it is shared and diffused, as one can see when it passes through glass or transparent objects, where it achieves fulfilment and expands without there being any need for any vapour to nourish it. The body of the sun

> clearly has no need to be nourished, in that its parts are perfectly homogeneous (*consimillimae*), all of them and every single one enjoy mutual contact, orbiting around a single centre, and do not ever desire to be separated. Instead it is earthly fire that needs to be nourished, and when a piece of wood burns and transforms itself into fire, it immediately flies up to the sky which is similar to it; that is why one has to add another piece of wood to produce more fire: but solar fire within its own realm needs no nourishment.[47]

Unless one supposes that the sun too is heterogeneous and that it too has an elemental structure: but there is no evidence of this, and there is no fire that is purer than that of the sun. Its light irradiates out towards every part of the world and the sun is never in need of light, rather it bestows light ('et non ut indigens, sed ut dives largitor eius est sol'), and Campanella is convinced that his friend Galileo, who has put forward a simple hypothesis for scholars to consider, without presenting it as something certain, would agree with this.[48]

6. The Crisis and Revision of Telesianism

The fourth article, which concludes this tortuous *Quaestio X*,[49] has been defined by Lerner as 'surprising' (*étonnant*), because of the stratification of its materials.[50] In addition to the problematic aspects of the cosmologies which were being compared, there was a further extremely delicate matter, to which Campanella alludes immediately in the title itself: the position taken by the 'sacer Index' [the Index of Prohibited Books] towards Copernicus's doctrine. Campanella refers to the decree of March 1616, which ordered the banning of Copernicus's doctrine but using the formula '*donec corrigatur*' [until it is corrected], and Campanella interprets this, shrewdly but basically correctly, as though the warning was nevertheless a concession to treat such a doctrine in a purely hypothetical way, without proclaiming its veracity: 'I have said these things supposing that the doctrines of Copernicus and Galileo are true, doctrines about which the new Index warns us, and allows us to treat in a hypothetical way, as I have done.'[51]

In this section Campanella draws up a sort of balance sheet to check whether the new discoveries cause the total demolition of the principles of natural philosophy which he upheld, as we see in the disconsolate opening to the section: 'From the observations made by Copernicus and Galileo it seems without doubt that our natural philosophy has been totally and fundamentally destroyed.'[52] There follows a dense list of arguments, which seem to conflict with the Telesian principles that Campanella had made his own, principles relating to the origin and make-up of the cosmos. They were all centred on the changes undergone by matter placed in space, changes effected by the two active principles of heat and cold, which resided respectively in the body of the sun and the earth. Amongst the arguments invoked in favour of the new cosmology, there was also the one that proposed that the fixed stars were just so many suns around which revolve planets and moons which are invisible to us because of the distance and because they do not shine with their own light: this means that there are as many worlds as there are suns. This perspective seems to put forward once more Democritus's theory that the heavenly bodies are made up of scattered atoms which have gathered together in infinite, empty space. In the thirteenth argument, which proclaims the greater compatibility of Neo-Pythagoreanism with Holy Scripture, there is then a mention of 'a certain man from Nola' ('quidam Nolanus') who upholds the idea of moons which go round suns and temper them, and then another later reference, this time to the new star that appeared in 1572.[53] These mentions of Bruno, here and elsewhere, despite the dissent from Bruno's doctrines expressed by Campanella, appear as a daring act of witness: as Lerner has very correctly observed, Campanella is one of the few authors who do not form part of that 'conspiracy of silence' which soon surrounded Bruno's name and would do so for a long time.[54]

In replying to the series of objections, Campanella affirmed at the outset that even if the positions of Copernicus and Galileo were true, that did not imply the disastrous collapse of his whole natural philosophy that one might have feared, but rather that all he would need to do would be to make a few modifications to it: 'pauca in mea philosophia immutabo.'[55] He held firm to the indispensable principle

of the sun as sole centre of love and heat, which would always be the principle of movement, since in the new system the sun would revolve around itself. As for the earth, it was no longer to be considered the sole centre of hatred and cold, and movement would be conferred on it not by its own heat, but either by an intrinsic soul or from the *vertigo solis* [vertigo of the sun], which impresses movement on every other planet. As for matter, it was not necessary to take as the starting point Democritus's scattered atoms: since unity precedes multiplicity, it would be preferable to admit a united matter, which subsequently could be subdivided into atoms. Also as regards the stars, it did not follow as a necessary consequence that each star must be a sun, around which planets invisible to us revolve. Still relying on his argument about the difference of colours, Campanella preferred to extend to the stars a make-up that was analogous to that of the planets: if even stars such as Aldebaran, Arcturus and Algol show a red or dark appearance, that meant ruling out that they were just so many suns, made up of pure fire. Although he confessed that, in his youth, he had also speculated on the hypothesis of a multiplicity of worlds ('at one stage I had been of the opinion that perhaps other worlds existed beyond our own, and that the power of God was not confined to this one'),[56] Campanella, in his 'return to Pythagoreanism', stops short of reviving this doctrine with its links to the atomists, Democritus and Bruno. In any case, he is keen to point out that even if one had to admit the existence of multiple worlds, these were not separate, independent worlds which had been scattered haphazardly throughout infinite space, as Democritus held, but a plurality of systems that were coordinated into a unified whole, of different scenes belonging to a single representation of one sole universe, coordinated in its many parts by a single God.[57]

In the final part of the section Campanella warns, with a formula sounding a note of caution, that while waiting for new confirmation of Galileo's doctrines, he has articulated any changes that had to be made to his own natural philosophy, taking account of the new discoveries only in a hypothetical way, but without asserting them.[58] Then, in the closing lines which were added at a later date, Campanella tells us that, only five years after writing the previous lines, he had learnt that the condemnation of the idea of the movement of the earth had been pronounced just a week before his own *Apologia pro Galileo* reached Rome. Such a condemnation silenced any discussion — and in these lines Campanella appears to want above all to communicate his deep regret at not having managed to avoid a rupture that he hoped would not happen.

Conclusions

The extraordinary discoveries in the skies made by Galileo induced Campanella to rethink some of the principles of his philosophical system, an operation which he undertook with courage and honesty, despite his doubts and perplexities, as he tried to save some of its key aspects while adapting others. The result was that the pages of his works that reflect this crisis have a complex, convoluted appearance, since they are the result of a stratification of different materials which were not always consistent with each other. This points above all to his flexibility and openness

towards dialogue, his keen attention to every discovery — and nothing would be more mistaken than to believe that his condition as a prisoner amounted to a position of isolation and separation from philosophical and scientific debates. Furthermore, he possessed a precocious and acute awareness of the possible difficulties that the new cosmology could come up against when confronted by theologians, and he immediately tried to indicate roads that would lead to agreement with some strands of the ecclesiastical tradition that were alternatives to Aristotelianism, in order to avoid clashes and ruptures which could only prove to be disastrous for both science and theology.

This openness to dialogue and search for mediation was allied to his keen sense of relations of friendship. In the first place the 'mirabile' [wonderful] Galileo was a friend whom Campanella had met in Padua in the far-off days of 1592, when both men were at the beginning of their intellectual travels and unaware of the stormy events that would overtake them and engulf them in the course of their lives. Tobias Adami was also a friend: Campanella sent him to Florence because he at least could meet and discuss with the great scientist, whereas Campanella could not — and in the background we catch a glimpse of the figure of the 'quidam Nolanus', who upheld a more disturbing brand of radical Pythagoreanism deriving from Democritus.

The desire to understand and engage in dialogue, in a context of exchange and friendship, was more powerful than practical difficulties and doctrinal disagreements, and Campanella was convinced that one had to overcome the passions that might cloud the light of the intellect or the serenity of personal relations, for we must never forget that the sole master is God, and men are all disciples who are joined together in a constant reading of the book of nature. In a passage from his *Apologia pro Galileo*, after quoting St Jerome, who exhorted those who did not have teeth not to envy those who can eat and those who were blind like the mole not to despise the keen sight possessed by the deer, Campanella warned people not to reject the extraordinary novelties of his times but to discard criticisms that were dictated by ignorance and envy. Instead it was important to accept with humility that one had to go back to learning at our school desks and abandon the presumption of being called teachers:

> For out of envy they turn themselves into troublemakers for more profound modern thinkers, because they themselves are ignorant of such things, or despair of learning them, or are embarrassed to become students now that they are called teachers.[59]

Translated by Martin McLaughlin

Notes to Chapter 11

1. On Adami see Luigi Firpo's Introduction in Tommaso Campanella, *Opera latina Francofurti impressa annis 1617–1630*, ed. by Luigi Firpo, 2 vols (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975), I, pp. V-XIX (pp. XI-XIII).
2. Tobias Adami, *Praefatio*, in Campanella, *Realis philosophia epilogistica,* in *Opera latina,* II, 539–63 (pp. 555–56).
3. Ibid., p. 556.

4. The letters between Adami and Campanella are not extant, but they are known to us via indirect evidence.
5. See the letter to the Grand Duke Ferdinand II dei Medici, sent from Paris on 6 July 1638, in Campanella, *Lettere*, ed. by Germana Ernst (Florence: Olschki, 2010), pp. 509–10.
6. Adami, *Praefatio*, p. 557.
7. Ibid.: 'Sed et ipse nutare forte coepit, aut certe animi pendere.'
8. Campanella, *Physiologia*, I. 5, in *Opera latina*, II, 582–83.
9. See Michel-Pierre Lerner, s.v. 'Systema', in *Enciclopedia bruniana e campanelliana*, ed. by Eugenio Canone and Germana Ernst, 2 vols (Pisa: Serra, 2010), II, cols. 349–56.
10. Campanella, *Physiologia*, p. 582: 'Postquam Galilaei observationes legi, coepi amplius hesitare num stellae systemata sint, quemadmodum Pythagoricis videtur, et hanc in textu parenthesin interclusi, ut intelligas quod etiam si stellae purus ignis non sint, philosophia nostra de rebus quae sunt in systemate nostro non corruit' [After I read Galileo's observations, I began to hesitate even more on the question of whether the stars are systems, as the Pythagoreans hold, and I included this parenthesis in the text so that you would understand that even if the stars are not pure fire, our philosophy concerning those things that are in our system is still intact].
11. Campanella, *Lettere*, pp. 189–94.
12. For the condemnation of some of Telesio's works, see Luigi Firpo, 'Filosofia italiana e Controriforma. IV. La proibizione di Telesio', *Rivista di filosofia*, 42 (1951), 30–47; Roberto Bondì, *Introduzione a Telesio* (Rome–Bari: Laterza, 1997), pp. 123–36.
13. Valori's letter can be read in the lengthy Introduzione by Alessandro D'Ancona, in Campanella, *Opere*, 2 vols (Turin: Pomba, 1854), I, p. LXXV.
14. Luigi Firpo, *Bibliografia degli scritti di Tommaso Campanella* (Turin: Bona, 1940), pp. 173–74, nn. 57–58; cfr. Campanella, *Sintagma dei miei libri e sul corretto metodo di apprendere / De libris propriis et recta ratione studendi syntagma*, ed. by Germana Ernst (Pisa: Serra, 2007), pp. 36–37: 'Item philosophiam Pythagoricam carmine Lucretiano auspicatus eram, motus quidem ex Ocelli Lucani lectione et Platonicorum dictis; [...] postea Patavii coepi Empedoclis philosophiam instaurare' [Similarly I had wished to embrace Pythagorean philosophy with a Lucretian epic poem, moved as I was by the reading of Ocellus Lucanus and the sayings of the Platonic philosophers; [...] after that, in Padua I began to re-establish the basis of Empedocles's philosophy].
15. Firpo, *Bibliografia*, p. 172, n. 55, but his reference to a section in the *Physiologia* (I. XVI. 9, p. 196) is not correct: this section actually does not concern the *De sphaera Aristarchi*, but rather the *De insomniis*, which had also been cited by Valori.
16. Campanella, *L'ateismo trionfato*, ed. by Germana Ernst (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2004), p. 76.
17. Nicola Antonio Stigliola (1546–1624), architect, astronomer and philosopher, was the author of works much appreciated by Campanella, such as *Il telescopio*; unfortunately, we only have the index and summary of his *Encyclopaedia pythagorica*. On Stigliola see Giuseppe Gabrieli, 'Intorno a Nicola Antonio Stigliola, filosofo e linceo napoletano', *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, 10 (1929), 469–85; Nicola Badaloni, *Tommaso Campanella* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1965), pp. 87–93; Id., 'Il programma scientifico di un bruniano: Colantonio Stigliola', *Studi storici*, 1 (1985), 161–74; Saverio Ricci, *Nicola Antonio Stigliola, enciclopedista e linceo*, con l'edizione del trattato *Delle apparenze celesti*, ed. by Andrea Cuna (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1996).
18. Campanella, *Ateismo trionfato*, pp. 82–83.
19. Campanella, *Metaphysica* (Paris: [D. Langlois], 1638; anastatic reprint by Luigi Firpo, Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1961), pars III, p. 52. For the references to Bruno, cf. the fundamental article by Michel-Pierre Lerner, 'Campanella lecteur de Bruno?', in *La filosofia di Giordano Bruno. Problemi ermeneutici e storiografici*, ed. by Eugenio Canone (Florence: Olschki, 1998), pp. 387- 415.
20. See for instance *Metaphysica*, pars III, pp. 53–55, as well as the texts cited later on.
21. 'Sed postquam Galilaei observationes vidi, multa nova cogitare coepi et in multis Pythagorae assentiri.' See Campanella, *Quaestiones physiologiae, X* (henceforth *Quaestio X*), in *Disputationum in quatuor partes suae philosophiae realis libri quatuor* (Paris: D. Houssaye, 1637; = *Philosophia realis*), p. 90.
22. Ibid., p. 103: 'Non eadem puritas est in omnibus stellis, ideo non idem candor: vel forte sunt systemata plusquam ignem continentia'; cf. also *Metaphysica*, pars III, pp. 51–52.

23. Campanella, *Quaestio X,* p. 95: 'ad opinionem de suspicione me trahunt, qua olim systemata esse posse scribebam'.
24. Campanella, *Metaphysica*, pars III, pp. 70–71: 'Nec illa ratio mea est invicta, qua Deus plures terras ubi mala abundant, et generatio, et mors, non fecisse videbatur.'
25. Campanella is referring to a passage in Galileo's *Terza lettera* on sunspots, in *On Sunspots. Galileo Galilei & Christoph Scheiner*, ed. by Eileen Reeves and Albert Van Helden (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 282: 'I not only concur with Apelles, but believe that I can demonstrate with compelling logic that the opinions of those who imagine inhabitants on Jupiter, Venus, Saturn and the Moon are false and damnable, if what is meant by "inhabitants" is living beings like ours, and humans in particular.' The Italian text is in Galileo Galilei, *Opere*, Ediz. Nazionale, ed. by Antonio Favaro, 20 vols (Florence: Barbèra, 1890–1909), V, 220: 'Che il parer di quelli che pongono abitatori in Giove, in Venere, in Saturno e nella Luna sia falso e dannando, intendendo però per abitatori gli animali nostrali e sopra tutto gli uomini, io non solo concorro con Apelle in reputarlo tale, ma credo di poterlo con ragioni necessarie dimostrare.'
26. On this topic (already mentioned in *Lettere*, p. 190) Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 99, mentions 'Kepler's playful hypothesis' ('ut Keplerus iocatur'); cf. Johannes Kepler, *Dissertatio cum Nuncio sidereo*, in *Gesammelte Werke*, IV, ed. by Max Caspar, Franz Hammer (Munich: Beck, 1941), p. 299, where he also refers to some of his other works. For the references to Paracelsus, see Michel-Pierre Lerner, 'Campanella et Paracelse', in *Alchimie et philosophie à la Renaissance*, ed. by Jean-Claude Margolin and Sylvain Matton (Paris: Vrin, 1993), pp. 379–93; Guido Giglioni, 'Paracelso', in *Enciclopedia bruniana e campanelliana*, ed. by Eugenio Canone and Germana Ernst, III (forthcoming).
27. Campanella, *Theologicorum l. III. Cosmologia*, ed. by Romano Amerio (Rome: Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, 1964), pp. 101–10; Campanella, *A Defense of Galileo*, ed. and trans. by Richard J. Blackwell (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), pp. 44–45, 101–10.
28. Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 95: 'Maculae Galilei me perplexum habent.'
29. In a letter of 19 July, Federico Cesi informed Galileo of Campanella's interest in the question and invited him to ask for more precise information from Bünau who was in Florence: 'Il Campanella ha notato non so che sopra le *Macchie solari* di Vostra Signoria, concorrendo più tosto seco che altrimenti, almeno nel più, ché così mi dicono. Credo il sig. Rodolfo, nobil tedesco, che hora si trova in Fiorenza ed è spesso con V.S., potrà darlene notitia' [Campanella has noted something relating to your Lordship's *Sunspots*, agreeing more with your Lordship than anything else, at least on the whole, they tell me. I think that Mr Rudolph, the German nobleman, who is now in Florence and who is often with your Lordship, can tell you more about this] (Galilei, *Opere*, XI, 539).
30. Campanella, *Ethica. Quaestiones super Ethicam*, ed. by Germana Ernst with Olivia Catanorchi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011), p. 55.
31. Campanella, *Quod reminiscentur*, Book 4: *Legazioni ai Maomettani*, ed. by Romano Amerio (Florence: Olschki, 1960), pp. 37–38: 'Tandem fecimus nobis oculare mirificum, quo occultas stellas et secreta caeli penetramus, quorum inventor Galilaeus Florentinus amicus noster; nec tamen circa solem nisi nubeculas quasdam dissipabiles videmus'; see also ibid., pp. 114–15.
32. Campanella, *Theologicorum l. XIV. Magia e grazia*, ed. by Romano Amerio (Rome: Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, 1957), p. 231; on p. 186 Campanella, after recalling the invention of the telescope, hopes for the invention of an instrument thanks to which it might be possible to hear very distant sounds. The curious mention of Trithemius's devils recurs also in other places: for instance, *Quaestio X*, p. 97.
33. These *Commentaria* to the pope's Latin poems were written by Campanella in Rome between 1628 and 1630 and are conserved in the three manuscripts in the Biblioteca Vaticana (Barb. Lat. 1918, 2037, 2048), but have only been partially published; see Germana Ernst, 'Galileo, Campanella e le dottrine celesti', in *Il processo a Galileo Galilei e la questione galileiana*, ed. by Gian Mario Bravo and Vincenzo Ferrone (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010), pp. 157–82 (p. 170, n. 28).
34. Maffaeus card. Barberini, *Poemata* (Paris: Antoine Estienne, 1620), p. 47. After Cardinal Barberini's elevation to the Papacy as Urban VIII (1623), his *Poemata* went through many

editions: cf. Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome. Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), ch. 2, esp. the Appendix, pp. 141–42. It is interesting to note that Leone Allacci, in his definitive version of the biography of Galileo in his *Apes urbanae* (1633) suppressed the passages from the *Adulatio perniciosa* where Barberini had praised the scientist: cf. Thomas Cerbu and Michel-Pierre Lerner, 'La disgrâce de Galilée dans les *Apes urbanae*: sur la fabrique du texte de Leone Allacci', *Nuncius*, 15:2 (2000), 589–610 (p. 595).

35. Tommaso Campanella, 'Commentum in Oden cuius titulus *Adulatio perniciosa*', in *Commentaria super Poematibus Urbani VIII*, in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. Lat. 1918, fols 17–57 (fol. 39^{r-v}).
36. Ibid., fol. 29^{v}: 'Equidem existimo non modo circa Iovem Saturnumque invisibiles rotari stellas: sed circa omnes quoque fixas erraticasque in plurimis totius universi amphitheatris, ubi divinae sapientiae, potentiae et amoris divitiae representantur, ut sint rotae in medio rotarum in Ezechielis prophetia indicatae.'
37. The *Quaestiones*, which had already been announced in the long title of the first edition of his *Philosophia realis* (Frankfurt: G. Tampachius, 1623), saw the light only in the definitive Paris 1637 edition (for details see note 21), where to all four parts of the work were appended *quaestiones*; there were no fewer than 60 'questions' appended to the *Physiologia*, extending over 570 pages.
38. 'un collage d'opinions successivement tenues (mais pas toujours exposées dans un ordre cohérent) [plutôt que] des textes exprimant, à la date où ils sont publiés, le dernier état de sa pensée'; cf. Lerner, 'Campanella lecteur de Bruno?', p. 413; see also the same author's 'La science galiléenne selon Tommaso Campanella', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 1:1–2 (1995), 121–56.
39. Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 95: 'Non esse maculas illas stellarum congeriem, quae uniuntur et separantur.'
40. Ibid., p. 94: 'Post diu scriptum articulum hunc accepi epistolas Galilaei de maculis solaribus: non assertive, sed opinative docet pabulum esse solis.'
41. Ibid., p. 95: 'Opinatur Galilaeus esse pabulum Soli subministratum ad instaurationem immensae lucis, quae incessanter per totum mundum a Sole expanditur effunditurque.'
42. Reeves and Van Helden, *On Sunspots*, p. 290; for the Italian original see Galilei, *Opere*, v, 230–31: 'E se alcuno pur volesse opinabilmente stimare, che alla restaurazione dell'immensa luce che da sì gran lampada continuamente si diffonde per l'espansion del mondo, facesse di mestiere che continuamente fusse somministrato pabulo e nutrimento, ben averebbe non una sola, ma 100 e tutte l'esperienze concordemente favorevoli, nelle quali vediamo tutte le materie, fatte prossime all'incendersi e convertirsi in luce, ridursi prima ad un color nero ed oscuro; e così vediamo ne' legni, nella paglia, nella carta, nelle candele, ed in somma in tutte le cose ardenti, esser la fiamma impiantata e sorgente dalle contigue parti di tali materie, prima convertite in color nero.'
43. *Quaestio X*, p. 95: 'Non enim arbitror Solem ali ad instaurationem lucis. Lux enim incorporea est, vapor corpus, quod illi esse pabulum nequit. Oporteret sane lucem esse atomos, sicut dicebat Democritus, et instaurari ex adventitiis atomis, absque vi activa, vel quotidie novum Solem ex atomis nasci apud Gangem et extingui in Atlantico, sicut stulte Epicurus somniat.'
44. Ibid., p. 96: 'Deficit ergo Galilaeus, quoniam hoc non declaravit, quid de luce sentiat videturque Democrito assentiri.'
45. Ibid.: 'Nondum enim phantasias et ipse vulgares prorsus excussit'; later Campanella affirms that the 'mirificus' Galileo shows himself to be more of a mathematician than a physicist on this question.
46. Ibid.: 'Quod enim activum est per naturam, habet potentiam sapientiam (sensum) et amorem suae magnificationis, multiplicationis et diffusionis, ut Deo assimiletur maximo, aeterno et immenso, ut docui in *Metaphysica*. Igitur calor solaris cum sit activus, et ipsa lux, cum sit caloris facies et epiphania, qui tactui calor, oculo lux dicitur, habet sui multiplicativam virtutem. Quapropter non indiget alimento, ut crescat et sufficiat, sed subiecto in quo crescat.'
47. Ibid.: 'Corpus autem solis non indigere nutrimento palam est, quoniam partes eius consimillimae sunt, totaeque atque omnes mutuo gaudent contactu et in suo centro uniuntur, nec seiungi volunt unquam. Ignis autem apud nos nutritur, quoniam cum aliqua pars ligni facta est ignis, statim volat ad cognatum caelum: oportet ergo aliud lignum apponere, ut succedat alius ignis: at ignis solaris extra cognata non est.'
48. Ibid.

49. A marginal note (ibid., p. 100) points out that it was added at the request of Tobias Adami and Rudolph von Bünau after their meeting with Galileo.
50. Lerner, 'Campanella lecteur de Bruno?', p. 405.
51. Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 106 : 'Haec dixi supposito, quod vera sint, quae Galileus docet et Copernicus, de qua doctrina hypothetice nos loqui novus index sacer monet permittitque sicut feceramus.' Campanella upholds the same interpretation, in other words the possibility of speaking hypothetically about the Copernican system, even in the commentary to the *Adulatio perniciosa* (Ernst, 'Galileo, Campanella', p. 173), thereby provoking considerable irritation in the Pope: see the letter of 10 June 1628 to Urban VIII, in Campanella, *Lettere*, pp. 304–08.
52. Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 100: 'Profecto ex observatis Copernici et Galilaei videtur nostra *Physiologia* funditus ac tota everti.'
53. Cf. Dario Tessicini, under the entry 'cometa' (in Bruno), in Canone and Ernst, *Enciclopedia bruniana e campanelliana*, II, 34–43; for the moons which tempered the suns and the earthly exhalations as nourishment for the heavenly bodies, see Miguel A. Granada, 'Giordano Bruno et "le banquet de Zeus chez les Ethiopiens": la transformation de la doctrine stoïcienne des exhalaisons humides de la terre', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 3 (1997), 185–207 (pp. 187–202).
54. Lerner, 'Campanella lecteur de Bruno?', p. 414; the fact that Campanella does not mention Bruno's name explicitly, but preferred to use the fairly explicit epithet 'Nolanus', in all probability stems from the fact that the *damnatio memoriae* to which a heretic was subject included a ban on mentioning him by name.
55. Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 102.
56. Campanella, *Metaphysica*, pars III, p. 78: 'Aliquando opinati sumus fortasse alios mundos extra reperiri, nec Dei potentia huic concludi.'
57. Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 105: 'at non propter hoc sint Mundi seorsum, sed scenae unius ab universali circulo comprehensi uno unius Numinis'; cf. also *Metaphysica*, pars III, pp. 70–71: 'Mundi corporales plures non sunt, cum sit unus Deus, sed sub uno circulo magno omnes continentur intra Mundum Mathematicum.'
58. Campanella, *Quaestio X*, p. 106: 'Interim loquor ex suppositione, non ex assertione de nostrae Physiologiae mutatione.'
59. Campanella, *A Defense of Galileo*, p. 81. Cf. Horace, *Epistles*, II, 84–85.

CHAPTER 12

❖

Faxecura's Embassy to the Vatican (1615): Relations with Japan, from Documents in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith*

Marta Fattori

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, and especially during the seventeenth century, information regarding Japanese customs and traditions started flowing into Europe, and Italy in particular, especially Rome. The Eternal City was, after all, the centre of Holy See diplomacy and the seat of the main religious orders, missionaries included. It is to the missionaries, and notably to the Jesuits (relentless in their efforts to 'evangelize'), that we owe such information, transmitted by means of official dispatches, letters, and reports, or of more personal tales and narratives. The principal source documenting European perceptions of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese culture and events are the missionaries' annual accounts to the Fathers-General of their order — though a considerable part of these accounts is taken up by tales of martyrdom.

Because institutional powers cannot govern the course that history, or knowledge, or the relations among diverse peoples will take, the chances of success or failure of an evangelical mission oscillated between radical extremes. When a mission went wrong, this occasionally (though not invariably) meant the missionaries became the victims of tragic events. And yet, by living and learning, the missionaries witnessed the truth of Montaigne's opinion on this matter,[1] and eventually ceased to regard as barbarous whatever was unfamiliar, and reported as best they could whatever they saw and understood of the customs of the remote lands to which they were sent; whilst frequently condemning and often sceptical, despite all their prejudices the missionaries were nonetheless learning the language and translating from the Japanese.

The documents of these transactions eventually reached the Holy Office archives. These papers held at the *Stanza Storica* (St. St.) of the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (ACDF, formerly the Holy Office) constitute the only available record of the diverse and often conflicting opinions held by Church dignitaries at the time of the 'evangelization' of the East. They are collected under the title *Facoltà concesse ai vescovi del Giappone e della Cina (1615–1616)*; they are also a

* I would like to thank Mattia Bilardello for translating both this chapter and the documents in the Appendix.

valuable source of information about Japanese 'customs' (weddings,[2] baptisms, daily life, trade), at least to the extent that these were understood and faithfully recounted.

The Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is now open to scholars, and is a treasury of invaluable materials, with archival documents of what was formerly the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office; it also holds the Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, whose offices it took over in 1917, and other minor collections, such as the documents from the Inquisition of Siena.[3] There is also the full series of the *Censura Librorum*, i.e. the complete file, in chronological order, of the reports and decrees regarding books examined by the ecclesiastical court, starting from the year 1570. Here we find the complaints and denunciations flagging up certain works to Rome, the votes of the revisors and consultors, the list of appointed consultors, and the judgements which frequently, when condemnation or revision was called for, referred a book to the Congregation of the Index. The entire collection consists of 328 files, the main series being, as with the Inquisition, that of the *Decreta*, and of the *Diari* — i.e. the proceedings of the meetings of the Congregation. Another substantial series, named *Acta et Documenta*, or 'Protocols', comprises 143 sizeable volumes containing all accessory documents for the rulings of the Congregation: letters, votes, the notices to be posted in public view, etc. Other minor series, such as the records of letters of the Congregation, the drafts of the early Indices of Prohibited Books, licences to read etc., make up the remainder of the Archive.[4]

The Stanza Storica has only been partly catalogued; some of its documents, however, have been digitised and are searchable on the archive's internal database, which allowed me to make a certain number of interesting discoveries.[5] For this essay, I have concentrated on the folders that contain documents up to the seventeenth century (some containing only a few pages, others more than 600), although the archive extends up to the twentieth century.[6]

The length of a document is not always significant, so that even a document of only three lines can be particularly informative: for instance, the decision made in January 1601, authorizing the Archbishop of Goa to send other religious orders on evangelical missions alongside the Jesuits, on the one hand is indicative of the status of the Archbishop as unquestioned authority and delegate of the Holy See in those territories; on the other hand it shows how the missionary circuit (and commercial relations) was beginning to extend to Japan.[7] The diocese of Goa had been established on 31 January 1533 by Pope Clement VII, with a jurisdiction that originally extended from the Cape of Good Hope to China and Japan.[8]

In the examination of the documents I shall not discuss the standard bibliography: let us just remember that in the early phase of the evangelization of Japan, Father Alessandro Valignano S.J. was a key figure. In 1574 he was sent to the East as Visitor-General of the Missions run by the Society of Jesus, which extended from Ethiopia to India, to Malacca, to the Moluccas, Japan, and China. At the time, as we know, these affairs were governed under the regime of *Padroado* [Patronage], whereby only Portuguese missionaries were allowed to evangelize in Portuguese territories overseas.[9] The Church, for its own part, had delegated the task of spreading the Christian faith to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, leaving the choice of missionaries and bishops to them, as well as the methods of evangelization. Valignano, Visitor

of the Indies, governed his mission under the authority of the King of Portugal; he was therefore expected to observe consolidated practices of evangelization, and in his first contacts with Africans and the lower castes in India he did act as though he shared, at least in part, a notion of European superiority over the populations of Africa and Asia.[10] It was when he encountered the great civilizations of China and Japan that he realised how limited, unjust, and un-Christian it was to force the converts to abandon their traditional culture for European customs.[11] Valignano elaborated for the Jesuits a programme both of lifestyle and of approach to Japanese civilisation that was to become the Magna Carta of the apostolate. He later handed it down to Matteo Ricci[12] and to his collaborators in China.[13] The context at this stage was extremely intricate, with the Jesuits as sole evangelizers, the difficult state of Spanish-Portuguese relations under the *Padroado* regime, the opening up of the East to different orders besides the Jesuits, the cross-relations between the Bishop of Japan and the Jesuits, Spain, and Rome, and the overlapping of theological and religious issues, for instance, the request for a new bishop, construction of new churches, relics of saints and canonization of Japanese Christian martyrs. Thus the arrival of the Japanese embassy at the port of Civitavecchia in October 1615 represented a moment of great complexity (though it had in effect begun in 1610) in which evangelical and religious motifs intersected with wider questions of a socio-cultural nature, with far from secondary commercial implications.

Let us briefly recall the main chronological landmarks:

1494 — the Treaty of Tordesillas between the Iberian colonial empires (an agreement mediated by Pope Alexander VI, the Borgia Pope) granted the Spanish the rights of expansion to the West, and the Portuguese to the East, with a demarcation line running approximately 370 miles west of the Azores; Japan was long to remain a site of contested attribution, regarded as the far West by the Spaniards, and as the far East by the Portuguese. Hence the concentration, among Holy Office documents, on the 'petition' for a new Bishop of Japan by Friar Luis Sotelo OFM and Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga (or 'Francisco Felipe Faxicura', as he was baptized in Spain), ambassadors of Date Masamune, King of Voxu (i.e. Daimyo of Oshu).

1608 — Paul V's Brief *Sedis Apostolicae providentia* (June 11) abolished the Brief issued by Pope Gregory XIII which granted the monopoly for the evangelization of Japan to the Jesuits, and extended it to the Mendicant Orders. Sotelo and his entourage, in fact, belonged to the Franciscan Friars Minor. A first Franciscan mission was planned for 1610.

1611 — Spanish embassy to Tokugawa Ieyasu, asking for the expulsion of the Dutch from Japan. The ambassador of New Spain (Mexico), Sebastián Vizcaíno, also demanded freedom of access for Spanish missionaries, but his arrogance so exasperated Tokugawa Ieyasu that the latter returned his gifts and dismissed him.

1613 — Arima Haronobu (Dom Protasio) was executed on the orders of Tokugawa Ieyasu, who had found through investigation that there were several Christians among his entourage (including his Korean concubine), and ordered them to choose between abjuring their faith or exile.

— a census of Christian followers in Japan estimated their number at 500.000.

— Sebastián Vizcaíno finally leaves for Mexico, accompanied by a second Japanese deputation formed by Friar Luis Sotelo OFM and Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga (on behalf of Date Masamune of Sendai); this was the '*Keichô* mission' (28 October) to the Pope and the King of Spain (this mission forms the main subject of discussion in this chapter).

On 8 October 1615, at the end of a long voyage begun on 28 October 1613 from the port of Ishinomaki, Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga, the ambassador of the Daimyo Date Masamune of Sendai, after crossing both the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans, landed at the port of Civitavecchia, in the Papal States, to meet Pope Paul V. Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga, a samurai, had been born in 1571. His arrival in Civitavecchia came after a diplomatic mission to Mexico, then referred to as New Spain, and was the beginning of prolonged diplomatic action in Europe over the period 1615 to 1620. He then returned to Japan, where he died in 1622, aged 52. The voyage of the head of the Japanese delegation was the only diplomatic and political response to come from Asia to Europe in the age of the great sea voyages. Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga and his numerous retinue, accompanied by the Spanish Franciscan Sotelo and fifteen other delegates, were warmly welcomed by the authorities and inhabitants of Civitavecchia; after a two-week stay in the town, Tsunenaga set out on the road to Rome. The two weeks spent at Civitavecchia were necessary to obtain permission to continue the journey to Rome, and the stay at the port of Civitavecchia amounted almost to a temporary unofficial detention. Having obtained the necessary permits, on 3 November the delegation bearing the message from Date Masamune was received by the Pope inside the Vatican. In an elaborately gilded letter, the Daimyo asked Pope Paul V to sponsor a trade agreement between Japan and Mexico, and to send Christian missionaries to his kingdom. The Pope agreed to the sending of missionaries, but judged that the King of Spain should have authority over the trade agreement — economic issues being too sensitive in those years of great commercial expansion. The Archive contains a copy of the letter Paul V sent in reply to Date Masamune, as a testimony to their collaboration.

The entire collection of documents concerning the *Legatio Faxecurae Rotuyemon Japponensis*, received by the Pope on 3 November 1615, pieces together a complex story whose origins are much older, going back both before and after 1610.[14] The documents were gathered into a folder that was assembled at the request of the Pope, after the official audience at the Vatican which had been both solemn and friendly. Solicited by Pope Paul V, the Secretary appointed to draft the minutes of meetings presided over by the Pope ordered his own secretaries[15] to gather from the Congregation 'tutte le scritture spettanti la creazione del nuovo Vescovo nel Giappone' [every written document concerning the creation of a new bishop in Japan]. The object was to review the demands of the Japanese Embassy (particularly the request for a new bishop) in preparation for the following meeting on 5 November. At the first audience, together with the *orationes* and *petitiones* of the two ambassadors, who read out in Latin the letter of Date Masamune,[16] there had been the replies of Gregorio Pedrocca[17] and of Mons. Pietro Strozzi;[18] but afterwards the Pope and the Congregation were to send an official response.

The first document in the folder at ACDF refers to the session of 5 November

1615, when the Pope reviewed the official audience with the Japanese delegation and some earlier letters from the Bishop of Japan.[19] The same folder contains the copy of the letter written by the Bishop of Japan to the Pope on 5 March 1610.[20] The bishop pointed out that the 'navilio' (vessel) on which the Franciscan Luis Sotelo was to embark with a certain 'Japanese Gentile' as ambassador of Date Masamune represented in his opinion a pernicious mission for several reasons: firstly, and most importantly, the embassy 'ha poco o niuno fondamento' [has little or no grounds] in so far as Date Masamune's intentions are expansionist; Date Masamune, in any case, was opposed by his son, with the risk of a clash that could be disastrous, at least for one of the parties involved; furthermore, the son of Masamune was against missionary expansion and the building of new churches, and indeed had written to the Viceroy of New Spain that he did not want the 'lege Christiana, ma solamente il comercio' [Christian law, but only trade].[21] These and other arguments all centred on the bishop's disappointment at not having prevented a mission that several parties had endeavoured to stop: 'his Prelates had endeavoured over the past months to prevent not only this Embassy but also the arrival of said Friar Luigi [Sotelo] in New Spain and made every effort to have him detained, so that he could be dispatched to Nagasaki, and thence to Manila, but these attempts failed'.[22] This motivated the Bishop of Japan to beg the Commissioner General to alert the Pope, in order that the lack of 'true' news would not lead him to respond favourably to the requests of Date Masamune's embassy, 'in danno dell'Evangelo e dell'autorità apostolica di Sua Santità' [with damage to the Gospel and the apostolic mission of His Holiness].[23]

The atmosphere of deep suspicion, and even hostility, cultivated in certain quarters was reflected in the account of Scipione Amati 'interprete e historico dell'ambasciata' [historian and interpreter of the embassy].[24] Official historian and official interpreter of the delegation, Scipione Amati sketched a portrait of Luis Sotelo of Seville as 'valoroso soldato' [a valorous soldier] and 'gran Capitano di Giesù Christo' [great Captain of Jesus Christ], moved by the desire to serve within the 'nuova vigna del Signore' [new vineyard of Our Lord, *viz.* Japan], though without spreading the news 'affinchè non le impedissero il viaggio' [so that the voyage would not be prevented] — clearly aware of the opposition 'de' primi Cavalieri di sua patria' [of the leading knights of his country].

Sotelo set sail for the Philippines and Japan in 1599 with a group of companions from his own order. When he landed, however, he realised his secrecy had availed him little: on the coasts of New Spain he found he had been preceded by 'his own men' who had in the meantime written to the Viceroy asking that Sotelo be informally detained and instructed to 'leggere Theologia' (read theology),[25] which is exactly what happened. Sotelo, notwithstanding, fervently busied himself learning the language; he later translated the Catholic catechism into Japanese, and went about preaching in public the rudiments of the faith, 'something no European had attempted before'.[26] His work of evangelization, according to Amati's account, proceeded swiftly and successfully, particularly in the Kingdom of Voxu, under Date Masamune: he was respected and loved, and enjoyed so much authority that he was able to settle very serious disputes. When he travelled and preached throughout the lands, the crowds were such that 'i medesimi Bonzi, ò Sacerdoti

del demonio li portavano rispetto, e lodavano il suo termine di trattare, e modo di convertire' [even the Bonzos, Priests of the Devil, respected him and admired his manner of settling disputes, and of converting].[27] Amati also gave a fine and noble portrait of the head of the delegation, the samurai Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga (Faxecura),[28] and it is interesting to note how the documents at Rome often describe him as a *Gentile giapponese* (Japanese *Gentile*, meaning a 'pagan', although the King of Spain simply calls him 'un Japon'). Nevertheless, Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga captured the attention and fancy of the courts and noble families, and his portrait as a noble samurai, splendid and authoritative, painted by Claude Deruet, is still held in the Borghese collection in Rome. Both protagonists of this diplomatic mission to Rome returned to Japan: Faxecura died of an illness in 1621, but Luis Sotelo was later burnt alive on the orders of Tokugawa Ieyasu. Although the ambassadors were received everywhere with due honours, the mission itself obtained very limited results, partly because it took place at the beginning of Japan's ever more pronounced isolationist policy. Sotelo had understood as much, and when he decided to join the diplomatic mission, because of the pressing requests to the Emperor from the Dutch and the British, asked the Emperor not to make any new decisions until his return.[29]

Similar preoccupations concerning the purpose of the embassy can be seen in the copies of the letters that the Secretary prepared for the Congregation's meeting of 5 November, although several years intervened (one dates from 1610, the other from 1613): in the first, the Bishop of Japan wrote to the Pope that it had been reported to him that Friar Luis Sotelo had persuaded the King of Japan 'con promesse di molto guadagno' [with the promise of great gains] to send a ship to New Spain; the Bishop, however, believed the trade could scarcely bring 'frutto alcuno' [any profit], indeed he regarded it 'pericolosissimo' [most dangerous] — particularly after rumours about his mission had circulated in Manila; he mentioned also how the friar had attempted the journey once before, and been detained in Manila by his Commissioner. However, Sotelo had turned to the bishop for help: 'But having found assistance here, he now no longer feels banished or impeded since he enjoys the king's favour, and that is why he is trying to do this'.[30] Three years later the bishop wrote to the General of the Company in the same tone: the 'navilio' [vessel] was now leaving with Luis Sotelo and other members of his order, claiming to be on an Embassy on behalf of Date Masamune. However, wrote the bishop, if their embassy were to have effect, there would follow several inconveniences, for Christianity on the whole, but also for the 'frati loro' [their religious brothers]. The Bishop knew what he was saying; he underlined, in fact (and this is important historical evidence) that 'li suoi Prelati' [the superiors from his order] had made every attempt to prevent not only the diplomatic mission, but also the return of Luis Sotelo to New Spain: 'fecero ogni sforzo per haverlo nelle mani' [they made every attempt to detain him], in order to take him to Nagasagui, and thence to Manila, but this failed. Unable to do otherwise 'fanno di necessità virtù' [they tried to make a virtue out of necessity], and at least forewarned the Commissioner General in Mexico of the fact that there was very little, if any, rationale to the mission. On the contrary, the bishop specified, great harm would come of the mission because

the powerful and belligerent son of Masamune was opposed to having any churches in his jurisdiction, and was only interested in the opportunities for 'commercio' [trade]. The bishop went on to list the likely consequences of this enterprise (consequences which began to become apparent in 1614). Hence the urgency with which the bishop wrote to the General, in the hope that this information would be transmitted to His Holiness.[31]

There were further developments in the course of the two-year voyage: concerned by the political implications of the mission, in September 1615 Philip III of Spain sent his own ambassador, Francisco de Castro, Count of Castro and Duke of Taurisano, to Rome to reach the Pope in advance of the Japanese embassy. Their exchange provides more information on this mission, which was at once so important, courageous, and yet also feared: the King warned the Pope that Luis Sotelo and 'un Japon' were about to request a papal audience as ambassadors of the King of Voxu, to prostrate themselves and kiss his feet; but the King also declared himself concerned by the 'inconvenienti' [inconveniences] that might follow, if in the fullness of his authority the Pope were to concede what the ambassadors demanded, namely a new bishop, saintly relics, the honorific *Cappello e Stocco* [Cap and Stock] for Date Masamune, the building of new churches and the opening of 'trade routes', and so on; he pointed out that the ambassadors did not represent the Emperor of Japan, but only the King of Voxu.[32] In Philip III's letter to his ambassador in Rome, the King appeared to be much more worried about an earlier letter of 1 August 1615 that he had sent to the Pope from Valladolid, in which he presented Hasekura's credentials, and was primarily concerned to point out that he himself had willingly received the Japanese delegation, and hoped that the Pope would do the same, in his customary manner.[33]

The next document in the folder is Sotelo's petition to the Pope, with his several requests: namely to allow the friars of the Order Minor of St Francis the same privileges and indults accorded to other orders in India; to nominate a Bishop of Japan; to intercede with the King of Spain and persuade him to begin commercial relations with the King of Voxu; to send the relics of saints to Japan for worship; to invest the King of Voxu with the Cap and Stock; to nominate bishops and bestow knighthoods; to create an archbishop; to institute a seminary; to canonize as martyrs and saints the missionaries and believers who had died in Japan; to confirm brotherhoods, indulgences, and altars for outside worship.

The copies and originals of the documents are all contained in the same large folder at the Archive. Some of the information is available from other sources, but I should like to highlight some of the more interesting items in the folder:

— another letter from the King of Spain dated September 1615 to the Count of Castro, Spanish ambassador to Rome, noting that to qualify for the privileges Date Masamune must at least be baptized beforehand;[34]

— the reply from the Count of Castro, Spanish ambassador to Rome, to King Philip III; with the petitions and requests of Japanese Christians.[35]

I would like to conclude with some remarks on the minutes and drafts of the meeting of 1 December 1615, which preceded the official response. This meeting was attended by the Cardinals of the Basilica of St Cecilia,[36] Cardinal Aldo-

brandini,[37] Cardinal Bellarmine,[38] Cardinal Zapata,[39] the Cardinal of St Eusebius,[40] Cardinal Verallo,[41] Cardinal Bonsi,[42] the Cardinal of Aracoeli,[43] and Cardinal Ascolano.[44] These nine Cardinals in particular had the specific mandate to analyse doubtful issues, complex questions of civil and criminal law, of conduct in daily life and devotion, and theological difficulties that arose in the missions outside Europe, and particularly the ones represented by the Bishop of Japan. The same Cardinals convened again on 21 January 1616 at the request of the Pope to discuss an inordinate number of doubts raised by the Bishop of Japan and addressed to the Holy Office in a despairing letter (he talked of too many difficulties that needed to be settled) in which he also demanded the particular attention of Cardinal Bellarmine and the Cardinal of St Eusebius.[45]

The minutes of the meeting enable us to appreciate the differences of opinion, although all participants concurred that the nomination of a new bishop should be negotiated with Philip III. And that was the crucial issue, both because all other decisions depended on it, and because it called into question the liaison with the Spanish monarchy. Aldobrandini was peremptory: 'necessita conformarsi con la resolutione del Consiglio' [we must conform with the Council resolutions, i.e. the Ministers of the King of Spain].[46] Bellarmine suggested postponing and requesting further details on 'whether there are any Christians'.[47] Almost all the other cardinals favoured the intercession of the Nuncio with the King to persuade him of the advantages of a new bishop: 'se non ci vien bene il Re di Spagna, non si può far Vescovo' [if the King of Spain sees no good can come of it, no bishop can be created]. The Cardinal of St Eusebius proposed that the Nuncio represent to the King and his ministers the view 'that [this nomination] should be made'.[48] Verallo argued that if the King permitted the construction of churches and monasteries, then the Nuncio should work 'for all impediments to be removed, in order to persuade His Majesty that the creation of a Bishop is necessary'.[49] The only unhesitating position was that of the Cardinal of Aracoeli, who not only believed it was right 'fare un Vescovo nel regno di Voxu' [to create a bishop in the Kingdom of Voxu], but also that there could be no impediments; of like opinion were Cardinal Ascolano and the Cardinal of St Cecilia.[50]

On the subject of sending missionaries from different orders than the Jesuits, Bellarmine (not only the most theologically inclined of the assembled Cardinals, but also the one of greatest stature and authority) voiced his perplexities: if no new bishops had been created even during the persecutions, then 'non è bene farlo adesso' [it is not opportune to do so now]; rather, the conversion of King Date Masamune ought to come first, and the request should be made by the King of Spain. Bellarmine also had reservations about Sotelo, who had proven himself unreliable on a previous occasion, and was not to be trusted in the present situation of uncertainty. Sotelo, in fact, had previously made a copy of a letter that was not meant to fall into the hands of the Emperor of Japan — but the letter had somehow reached the Emperor, and several people had been executed as a consequence. Bellarmine also pointed out that the Bishop of Japan was 'suffragan' to the Archbishop of Goa, and that at most a secular priest, and not a Regular, could be sent as visiting bishop.[51] The Cardinal of Aracoeli, being politically minded, advised that they should come to an agreement with the King of Spain, with his Council of

Ministers, and with the Commissioner General of the Indies to send 'più esemplari e migliori soggetti' [greater numbers, and better individuals] but, he stressed, 'without tying our hands into sending more', and concluded with the remark that there was also Portugal to be taken into consideration.[52]

In the summary notes prepared for the meeting, the list of items for discussion reads like a political agenda of the highest order: Japan fell within the area of influence of Portugal (which must be taken into account); there was the question of whether to revoke the Embassy, if it could be regarded as such, what its objectives might be, what authority the King had in writing, and what particular interests he might have; it was noted that the requests would seemingly benefit all of Japan, not just the kingdom of Voxu; was it possible that the Emperor might wage war on Date Masamune? In essence, here we have the complete picture of the doubts, dangers, suspicions and hostility expressed in the letters from the Bishop of Japan and the King of Spain, sometimes using their exact words. On the issue of concessions, the summary notes are equally clear: although the requests were reasonable, political issues among the States involved had to be considered; the Nuncio had to be given a mandate to liaise with the King of Spain and his Council, although it was suspicious (if it turned out to be true) that the embassy had not represented all the issues to the King.[53] Cardinal Zapata was to the point: the concessions could be made, but the 'manner' must be decided by the King, and it was the role of the Nuncio to report to the King. In the meantime, it may be politic to 'dargli buona speranza, et intanto pigliar informazione' [give him good hopes, and in the meantime gather information].[54] Buying time was the approach of the majority of Cardinals: Bonsio deemed it necessary literally to 'soprassedere per adesso dandogli ogni speranza' [sit on this for the time being and give him grounds for hope],[55] waiting for the King to convert in the meantime; the Cardinal of Aracoeli once more expressed the view that the King's conversion to Catholicism was not strictly necessary, and took a similarly lenient view of other requests: regular priests should be sent as visitors, and gradually create the conditions for a natural development of events. 'Give them some eminent relic but not of a saint's body and when the churches are built, have them placed in the churches.'[56] As for all other requests (cap and stock, seminary, brotherhoods, etc.), the view was that the baptism of King Date Masamune must come first: 'quando sarà battezzato, se ne tratterà' [once he is baptized, the matter can be discussed].[57]

In this essay I have concentrated on only the more significant stances taken by the Church, but I can testify that it is an extraordinary experience to be able to witness, from the original minutes, the details of the events at a meeting that took place, as the minutes themselves record, in those far-off sessions of 28 November and 1 December 1615, and to be able to piece together the complex course of the debate around decisions of great historical moment. In the folios that follow in the folder (fols 38^{r}–39^{v}) we finally have the definitive clean copy of the document: 'Parere degli Ill.mi e Rev.mi Inquisitori Card.li del S. Officio datane copia d'ordine di N. Sig.re Al Vescovo di Foligno, et à Mon.re Strozzi segretario dei Brevi a 3 di dicembre 1615.' [Advice of the Most Illustrious and Reverend Inquisitors, Cardinals of the Holy Office, of which copy is sent, at the order of His Holiness, to the Bishop of Foligno[58] and Monsignor Strozzi,[59] Secretary of Briefs, on 3 December 1615.][60]

Appendix

Document number I of the Appendix is a list of the most important items (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) in the ACDF dealing with Japan. Documents II to VIII contain a transcription of the most significant items contained in folder 4 in ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*. 'Giappone, IV, 1615. Legatio Faxecurae Rotuyemon Japponensis ac Fratris Ludovici Sotili hispani ordinis minorum observantium S. Francisci missorum ad Paulum V nomine Idamate Masamune regis Voxii in Impero Japonico. Petitiones oratorum, ac chrystianorum illarum partium.'

I have expanded almost all abbreviations. Some of the selected documents are original minutes, others are copies of letters, all prepared and gathered by the Secretary of Pope Paul V preparatory to the official answers to be given to the Japanese delegation. I have not changed the spelling, which may vary for the same word, as in the case, for example of Japon/Jappon, Massumane/Masumane. Nor have I flagged up incorrect spelling, if it represents an acceptable variant. I have left unaltered the spelling of 'u' in place of 'v', the initials etc. Between square brackets I have put the number of the folio (the manuscript is not foliated, hence the numbering is mine); I have put any illegible words or my own conjectured readings between angle brackets. The English translation follows the transcript of each document. Folios 36^{r}–40^{r} are particularly important, minuting in summary form the position assumed by each Cardinal with regard to the demands of the Japanese delegation. When the names of each Cardinal appear in abbreviated form, they are here given in full. Folios 38^{r-v} and 39 are interpolated and they represent the fair copy and the summary of the official answers prepared for the Pope by the Cardinals. Folio 40 then continues the minutes of 28 November 1615 (fol. 37^{v}).

Document I

List of the most important items (16th–17th centuries) in the ACDF; subject: Japan.

ACDF, S.O., Decreta 1601, fol. 45^{v}, *Missioni in Giappone* (Feria VI del 12 gennaio 1601). Lettera da spedire con urgenza circa le missioni dei regolari non gesuiti in Giappone e circa l'eventualità di concedere autorità sulle stesse all'arcivescovo di Goa.

ACDF, S.O., Materiae Diversae 1599–1630. *Giappone, IV, 1615. Legatio Faxecurae Rotuyemon Japponensis ac Fratris Ludovis Sotili hispani ordinis minoris observantium S. Francisci missorum ad Paulum V nomine Idamate Masamune regis Voxii in impero Japonico. Petitiones oratorum ac chrystianorum illarum partium* (1610–1615).

ACDF, St. St., UU 15, *Carte Caprano* (1669–1876). This contains, amongst other things, doubts regarding Japanese marriage (1669).

ACDF, St. St., OO 5 a (3), *Giappone. Religiosi Ordinum Mendicantium prohibentur ex Insulis Philippinis, aut alia qualibet Indiarum Occidentalium parte in Japonicas, illisque proximas adjacentes, et finitimas Insulas, Provincias et Regiones accedere* (1603–1610).

ACDF, St. St., OO 5 a (4), *Facoltà concesse ai vescovi di Giappone e di Cina* (1615–1616).

ACDF, St. St., QQ 2 e (3), *Su diversi 'dubia de matrimonio'* (1669–1678). Doubts transmitted by the Propaganda Fide, relating in particular to Japan, doubts which were 'resolved' in the Congregation of 17 July 1669.

ACDF, S.O., *Dubia circa Baptismum 1741–1758*. This contains, amongst other items: 1638. *Giappone. Missionarii Iapponenses hoc dubium proponunt. An baptizandi sint ii infideles, qui nondum instructi sunt in misteriis principalibus nostrae fidei reservandum instructionem post baptismum? Secundum. An in administratione baptismi omitti possint in Iapponensibus unctio, insuflatio, et usus salivae, ad evitandum horrorem, quae haec ingerunt in praefatis Iapponensibus?*
ACDF, St. St., UV 18 (5), *Dubbi dei missionari di Propaganda Fide* (1658–1670).

Documents IIa and IIb

IIa: Copy of the Letter of 5 March 1610 sent by the Bishop of Japan from Nagasagui [Nagasaki] to the Pope;
IIb: copy of the Letter of 5 October 1613 from the Bishop of Japan to the Commissioner General concerning the Embassy.

Both are in ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*. 'Giappone, IV, 1615', fols 5^{r}-6^{v}.

Document IIa

[fol. 5^{r}] [Secretary's synopsis]: Copia del Capitolo della Let.ra al Vescovo del Giappone nel quale tratta della Ambascieria spedita ad instanza del Padre Lodovico Sotilo. Et e infine della lettera scritta dal Vescovo a V. S. a 5 di Marzo 1610 in Nagasagui. Come potra V. B. vedere nella parte di detta lettera ch'io ho inviata.

Et hora che sto scrivendo questa mia, sono venute nuove carte contro un Religioso di San Fran.^{co} per nome fra Luigi Sotelo persona di poco talento ha persuaso il Re del Giappone con promesse di molto guadagno che mandi una nave alla nuova Spagna per aprire comercio in quelle parti del Giappone. Nella qual nave il suddetto frate va per Ambasc.^{re}. Et già il Re ha mandato qua a Nagasagui, a cercare piloti Spagnoli che stavano per imbarcarsi alla volta di Maniglia, perchè possano governare la detta nave. Negotio a giuditio di tutti, da una parte impertinente — perchè non seguiva frutto alcuno da questo comercio, non per la nuova Spagna, non per il Giappone et dall'altra parte è pericolosissimo per molte ragioni di momento. Intanto essendo cio venuto à notitia di certi Spagnuoli di Maniglia si protestarono cosi alli piloti come alli governatori di questo Re affinché se non succedesse questo negotio come il Re desidera e spera (si bene ha da succedere il contrario) non potersi sdegnare il Nostro Re et pregiudicare alla città di Maniglia et alle Filippine et a questo Christianesimo.

Questo frate già un altra volta tentò questo negotio perchè fu dal suo Commissario confinato in Maniglia. Ma egli trovò qua chi lo aiutasse et hora sentirsi più d'esser bandito né impedito per haver appoggio presso al Re, onde intenta il medesimo.

English translation:

[Secretary's synopsis]: Copy of the Chapter in the Letter to the Bishop of Japan concerning the Embassy urged by Father Lodovico Sotilo. And at the end the Bishop's letter of 5 March 1610 from Nagasagui [Nagasaki] to Your Lordship. As Your Eminence shall find in the part I have sent of the said letter.

As I write, new documents have arrived with charges against a Friar of the order of St Francis by the name of Luis Sotelo, a man of doubtful judgement, who has persuaded the King of Japan to send a ship to New Spain and open a trade route with that area of Japan, with the promise of great riches. On which ship this Friar shall embark as Ambassador. And the King has already sent for Spanish pilots to be sought here at Nagasagui, who, being

bound for Manila, might govern the aforementioned ship. Which enterprise everyone regards as pointless, since on the one hand, no gains may be hoped to come of this trade, neither for New Spain, nor for Japan; and, on the other hand, the enterprise is certainly most perilous for several reasons of great moment. Meanwhile the news having reached the ear of certain Spaniards in Manila, they have protested both to the pilots and to the Japanese King's governors against this enterprise taking place. They say that if this enterprise does not work out as the King desires and hopes (in fact the opposite might happen), the King should not take out his anger on the city of Manila, the Philippines or those of the Christian religion.

This Friar had once before attempted this business: we know he was confined to Manila by his Commissioner. But having found assistance here, he now no longer feels banished or impeded since he enjoys the King's favour, and that is why he is trying to do this.

Document IIb

[fol. 6^{r}] [Secretary's synopsis]: In una del Vescovo del Giappone del 5 di ottobre 1613 scritta al P. Generale della compagnia di Giesù dice così:

In un Navilio di Giapponesi c'hora parte dal Quantò per la Nuova Spagna va un religioso di S. Fran.^{co} per nome fra Luigi Sotello ed altri del medesimo ordine, qual dicono che porta un'Ambasciata di certo Gentile Giapponese per nome Massamune padrone di molte terre, ma vassallo del Signore Universale del Giappone, procurata per il medesimo Frate, nella qual dicono che dimanda il detto Signor Gentile a Sua Maestà e al Papa religiosi che vadano a predicar l'Evangelo nelle sue Terre; ma la verità è che non pretende se non che vengono alli suoi porti vascelli spagnoli per il guadagno temporale che da questo spera: si temono molti inconvenienti se questo haverà effetto, voglio dire se là si ammetterà tal imbasciata, non solo per questa christianità, ma anche più particolarmente per li religiosi di S. Fran.^{co} per essersi alcuni di loro intrigati in questo; intanto che li suoi Prelati procurarono li mesi passati di impedir non solo questa imbasciata ma anco la venuta del detto fra Luigi alla nuova Spagna e fecero ogni sforzo per haverlo nelle mani: per condurlo a Nangasagui, e di qua imbarcarlo per Manila, ma non poteron. Adesso mi dicono che facendo li detti Superiori della necessità virtù, li permettono il viaggio alla Nova Spagna, ma avvisano il Commissario Generale che sta nel Mexico, et à chi spetta, del poco ò niuno fondamento dell'imbasciata in evento che il frate la mandasse avanti e degli suoi inconvenienti. Come che questo Signor della [fol. 6^{v}] Tenza et il Principe suo figliuolo non vogliono questi religiosi nel Quantò, né che facciano Chiese, anzi il Padre ha scritto al Viceré della Nuova Spagna, che non vuole la lege Christiana, ma solamente il comercio come è certo, si temono con ragione questi religiosi che se verrà qualche missione de suoi fratri, ò di qualsivoglia altra religione in vista di questa imbasciata, si sdegnerà questo Re contra di loro, e contro Massamune, particolarmente che si scoprirà subito l'intento di Massamune quale è in effetto che vengono alli suoi porti vascelli spagnoli, e come che il Re già è intrato in suspettione di loro, e delli spagnoli per le ragioni già scritte altre volte, può pensare che vogliono far lega con Massamune, e questo con loro, e seguir di qua qualche gran travaglio, oltre la distruttione universale del detto Massamune il cui Stato dipende in tutto dal Re, qual con una parola, ò cenno lo può privar con la vita di tutte le sue terre. So di tutto, benche più copiosamente, perche vi sono in questo nuovo comercio et imbasciata molte cose che si devono considerare, avverso Sua Maestà et ho voluto anco farlo a V. B.^{ta} perche essendo bisogno, possa informar S. S.^{tà} acciò che per mancamento di vera informazione non avvenga che S. S.^{tà} approvi l'imbasciata con qualche dimostrazione ò effetto, che sia in danno dell'evangelo e della autorità apostolica di S. S.^{tà}.

English translation:

A [letter] from the Bishop of Japan to the Father General[61] of the Society of Jesus of 5 October 1613 says this:

On a Japanese ship now setting sail from Quantò [Canton] to New Spain is embarked a friar of the order of St Francis named Brother Luigi Sotello with others from his same order, who is said to bear an Embassy on behalf of a certain Japanese Gentile [i.e. pagan] named Massamune who is Lord of many lands though a vassal to the Universal Lord of Japan. The Embassy was procured by the said Friar and it requests, it is said, on behalf of the aforesaid Gentile Lord of Japan, that Your Majesty and the Pope send religious to preach the Gospel in his Lands, but the truth is that all they want is that Spanish ships come to his port, on account of the material gains he hopes to make from this. Several inconveniences are to be feared should this come into effect (by which I mean, if the embassy is received there), inconveniences not only for our Christendom, but also more specifically for the friars of St Francis on account of some in their number being implicated in this; meantime his Prelates endeavoured over the past months to prevent not only this Embassy but also the arrival of said Friar Luigi [Sotelo] in New Spain and made every effort to have him detained, in order to take him to Nangasagui [Nagasaki], and thence to Manila, but this failed.

Now I am informed that making a virtue out of necessity his Superiors will consent to his voyage to New Spain but have forewarned the Commissioner General in New Mexico and all authorities concerned of the scarce or non-existent grounds on which the embassy rests, should the Friar proceed further with it, as well as the inconveniences that may come of it. Now this Lord of Tenza and the Prince his son do not want these religious in Quantò nor do they want them to build churches — indeed the King has written to the Viceroy of New Spain that he does not want the Christian law, but wants trade alone, as is clear. We therefore fear these friars with good reason, for should a mission be attempted by them, or by any of any other denomination, on the grounds of this embassy, the King will be enraged with them, and with Masamune, particularly since Massamune's intentions will immediately be revealed for what they are in actual fact, namely that Spanish galleys be allowed into his harbours; and since the King is already suspicious of them, as also of the Spaniards for reasons which we have written about at other times, he may surmise that they intend to form a league with Massamune, and he with them. As a result, some great trouble might ensue, not to mention the total destruction of said Massamune, the welfare of whose State is wholly at the King's mercy, it being in the King's power to deprive him of his life and lands with just one word or nod. I am informed about everything, and have more information still, because this new trade and embassy involve many things to be taken into account, with regard to His Majesty, and I have deemed it right to share this once more with Your Eminence so that, should there be cause to do so, His Holiness might be informed in order to prevent that in the absence of reliable information His Holiness might approve the embassy by way of some demonstration or act, with consequent damage to the Gospel and to the apostolic mission of His Holiness.

Document III

ACDF, folios 7[r]–8[v], the official appeal of Sotelo to the Pope is transcribed, containing his requests; [fol. 8[v]] contains the address: Sanctiss.[o] Do[no] N[ro] Paulo V[o] [centre]: Pro Oratoribus R.gis Voxu in partibus Japonicis. The original document is collected in Archivio Segreto Vaticano [Vatican Secret Archive]. Not in Amati: ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*. 'Giappone, IV, 1615', fols 7[r]–8[v].

[fol. 7[r]] Beatiss. Pater
Frater Ludovicus Sotelo Ord.[nis] S.Franc.[ci] de Obs.[ia] et Philippus Franc.[cus] Faxecura Oratores Dati Masamuni Regis Voxu in Japonici Imperij partibus ad Sanctitatem V.[ram] missi, humiliter exponunt: qualiter praefatus Rex ob singularem affectum erga Christianam Religionem ac ingens desiderium, quo flagrat videndi totum suum Regnum Jesu Christi legem profitens, ac se ipsum in Catholicorum numerum redactum utrique praecipit et iniunxit, ut post Sanctitatis Vestrae Beatitudinis pedum ex suae regni Maiestatis parti deosculationem, ac tam pro se, quam pro toto ipsius regni prestitam huic sancti Sedi Apostolicae protestationem Regi eius Diatimati [i.e. Date Masamune], ac seipso pedibus Sanctitatis Vestrae submisso relationibus Sanctitati Vestrae Christianitati status ac indigentiae spiritualis illius regni exhibita, quo fidei catholicae propagatio et maior Omnipotenti Dei gloria, idemque Sanctitati Sedi veneratio in dies augeatur. Sequentia reverenter et humiliter petirent.

P.[o] Quod attenta egestate quam illud Regnum ministrorum evangelicorum sustinet, qui Dei verbum nunciare, ac illius incolas Christianae fidei praeceptis imbuere possint dignetur Sanctitas Vestra illuc aliquot fratres Minores Ord.[nis] S.Franc.[ci] de Obs.[ia] destinari quos benevolentia singulari prosequitur Sua Regia Maiestas.

2. Humiliter petunt dignetur S.[tas] Vestra huiusmodi religiosis illuc mittendis illa indulta et privilegia concedere, quae iisdem ac aliis per S.[tem] Vestram, ac Praedecessores in partibus Indiarum tam orientalium quam occidentalium, horum concessionis causa missis olim concessa fuerunt.

3. Quod cum ad conservationem, et augmentum illarum recentium plantarum necessario requiratur unus qui illas in spiritualibus regat, supplicant humiliter Sanctitati Vestrae dignetur ibi instituire Episcopatum Episcopumque creari, qui oves illas protegat, seduloque gubernit, et tamquam legitimus Pastor, illorum Christi fidelium spirituali progressui invigilari curet. Quantum vero attinet ad sumptus et annuos [fol. 7[v]] redditus non solum decentem ipsius Episcopi ac familiarium et ministrorum eius alimoniam concernentes, verum et illa omnia quae Romae huius Pontificis dignitatis erectionis et creationis in primis necessaria esse videbuntur, Sua Regia Maiestas abunde providere curabit ut ipsemet suis litteris pollicetur et nos Regis sui nomine quoque promittimus.

4. Quod Vestra Sanctitas velit suam authoritatem interponere quatenus Rex Catholicus fidus amicitiam a Regi Voxu oblatum acceptari non dedignetur, immo aequo animo ferat comercium cum suis subditis ineundum: nam praeter innumeras utilitates, quae ex eo proculdubio quotidie oriuntur aditus patebit religionis et ministris evangelicis, qui in partibus Japonicis ad Christi Iesu fidem propagandam in dies proficisci contenderint.

5. Ad augendam illius regni fidelium devotionem petunt aliquorum SS.[as] reliquias quorum venerationi et patrocinio beneficia a Deo optimo maximo consequi valeant.

Denique, quod cum Dei misericordiae fretus Rex Voxu speret, se brevi Sacrae regenerationis lavacro immergere quod iam opere complesset nisi gravis et urgentis causis Sanctitati Vestrae indicatis illum retardassent et in tali statu dum manet indignum revera se agnoscat, qui favores a Sanctitate Vestra vel minimos recipiat, idcirco propter magnam distantiam,

quae intercedit inter suum regnum, et Sanctam Sedem, ob quam non posset facili negotio Sanctitati Vestrae exponere, quum (Deo adiuvante) Christianus iam effectus fidenter vult petere ex nunc pro tunc reverenter expostulat quatenus Beatitudo Vostra dignetur illi concedere quae mox subiungit.
1.° quod Vestra Sanctitas dignetur illius regni investituram sibi tribueri, ut illud benedictioni et approbationi Apostolica regere et gubernari possit, ac insuper concederi illi pileum et ensem prout in similibus Sedis Apostolica facere consuevit.
[fol. 8r] 2° quod eum tenui adeo temporis intervallo ex notabili in Christianam fidem profectu sub securo prudenter conijci possit, quod brevior totum regnum Iesu Christi fidem libenter sit suscepturum, ac propterea consentaneum plures ibi Episcopos fore destinandos, ideo humiliter petunt dignetur Sanctitas Vestra iuxta consuetudinem, qua alii Christiani Reges potiuntur suae Regis Maiestati facultatem concedere nominandi Episcopos Sanctitati Vestrae proponendos huic Sancti Sedi primam institutionem, nominationem et creationem (ut par est) remittendo.
3° Quod S.tas V.a dignetur in suis partibus equitatum instituere sub tutela et nomine S.ti Pauli cui praesideat Sua Regia Maiestas et huiusmodi equites creare valeat, quorum ordinem aliquibus favoribus, gratijs et privilegijs Beatitudo Vestra augere velit. Insigni autem (si S.ti V.ae placuerit) erit Crux in pectore in formam ensis disposita, ut indi incipiant illi Christi fideles a Sancta Sede Apostolica dependere, ac in illo regno gloria Crucis magis ac magis splendere noscatur.
Tandem praefati oratores humiliter ad pedes S.tis V.ae provoluti omnia supradicta suo nomine, ac Regni sui Maiestatis enixe postulant benignitatis S.tis V.ae confisi omnia haec se consecuturos esse sperant. Quare omnes illi Christicoli cum fuerint tantis honoribus totque gratiis a S.te V.a cumulati nullo unquam tempore rogare cessebunt Altissimum ut S.tem V.am ad bonum Ecclesiae diu servet incolumen.

English translation:

Holy Father, Friar Luis Sotelo, of the Franciscan Order of the Observants, and Francisco Faxecura, acting as ambassadors of the King of Voxu in Japan, Date Masamune, humbly submit the following to Your Holiness. The aforesaid king, because of his especial devotion toward the Christian religion and his urgent desire that his entire kingdom profess the law laid down by Jesus Christ, and regarding himself as a Catholic, has prescribed and ordered both [ambassadors] to carry out the following: the kissing of the feet of Your Holiness, and on behalf of himself and of his entire kingdom the declaration of loyalty on the part of King Date Masamune to this Holy Apostolic See; then bowing before Your Holiness's feet, the exposition of the state of this country's relation to Your Christian Holiness and of the spiritual destitution in which his kingdom lies. After this, in order that the propagation of the Catholic faith, the greater glory of God the Almighty and the veneration of the Holy See might all increase daily, they respectfully and in humbleness beseech the following:
1. That bearing in mind the lack of evangelic ministers in that kingdom, ministers who might there announce the Word of Christ and educate its inhabitants in the precepts of the Christian faith, Your Holiness condescend to dispatch to that kingdom some friars of the Order of the Observants, to whom Masamune is particularly well disposed.
2. They humbly beseech Your Holiness to grant these friars such privileges and indults as were granted before by Your Holiness to these and other churchmen formerly dispatched to both the East and West Indies.
3. Since to guard over and increase these new plants one person is needed who will guide them in spiritual matters, they humbly beg Your Holiness to consent to the institution [in the kingdom] of a Bishopric and the creation of a Bishop to protect that flock and wisely

govern it, and that as legitimate Pastor he watch over the spiritual upbringing of all those believers in Christ. As for the cost and yearly revenue required for its upkeep, maintaining not only a decent level of board and lodging for the Bishop as well as for his retinue and ministers, but also all those things that are seen fit by the Holy Father for the construction and institution of the aforesaid seat, His Majesty the King shall be concerned with granting them in superabundance, as he promises in his letters and as we, speaking on the King's behalf, also promise.

4. That Your Holiness intercede with all the authority in His power before the Catholic king [of Spain] so that he disdain not the friendship proffered by the king of Voxu, but rather allow equanimously that king to initiate trade with his subjects: for besides the considerable profits that assuredly would come from this daily, access will be given to all orders and evangelical ministers who shall hurry to Japan in order that day after day faith in the word of Jesus Christ be propagated.

5. In order to increase the devotion of the faithful in that kingdom, we ask Your Holiness to consent to the sending of a number of sacred relics, the veneration and protection of which shall allow those peoples to obtain benefits from our Great and Almighty God.

Lastly, the King of Voxu, trusting in God's mercy, hopes that he shall soon immerse himself in the basin of holy regeneration — something which he would already have carried out, had he not been hindered by the grave and urgent matters of which Your Holiness has been made cognizant; and for as long as he remains in such state he acknowledges himself truly unfit to be granted even the smallest favours from Your Holiness; consequently, on account of the great distance between his kingdom and the Holy See, it is not a simple matter to present any request to Your Holiness: once (God willing) he becomes a Christian, he would like to ask all trustingly and even now with all due reverence requests that Your Holiness consent to grant what he now submits:

1. That Your Holiness deign to confer upon him the investiture of his kingdom in order that he may rule and govern it with the approbation and blessing of the Apostolic See, and in addition that he be granted the Stock and Cap as in such instances the Apostolic See is wont to do.

2. That after a brief period of time, given the considerable advance of the populace in the Christian faith, we can confidently presume that his whole kingdom will willingly take on the religion of Jesus Christ. For this reason, they humbly beseech that Your Holiness deign to allow the faculty of nominating bishops to be granted to the King's Majesty, according to the custom that allows other Christian Kings to nominate Bishops to be proposed to Your Holiness, while at the same time (as is only just) reserving for this Holy See the right of the official institution, nomination and creation of such bishops.

3. That Your Holiness graciously institute in his kingdom an order of the Knights of St Paul presided over by the King with licence to further create knights, and that Your Holiness shall honour the latter with favours, graces, and privileges. If it pleases Your Holiness, the ensign of the order shall be a cross borne on the chest in the shape of a sword, so that these followers of Christ shall begin to depend upon the Holy Apostolic See, and in that kingdom the glory of the Cross will be seen to shine ever more brightly.

4. Lastly, the aforesaid ambassadors, humbly prostrated at the feet of Your Holiness, unfailingly trusting in the benevolence of Your Holiness, wilfully submit all of the above mentioned things in his name and in the name of His Majesty's kingdom, in the hope that they can be granted. Thus all those new followers of Christ, grateful for the honours and graces bestowed upon them by Your Holiness, shall never cease to pray to the Almighty that He long keep Your Holiness safe for the good of the Church.

Document IV

Copy of a letter from Masamune, *Magni et Universalis Sanctissimique totius Orbis Patris Domini Papae Pauli Quinti pedes cum profunda summissione, et reverentia osculando Idate Masamune in Imperio Iaponico Rex Voxij, suppliciter dicimus:* ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*. 'Giappone, IV, 1615', fols 12[r]–13[r]; Amati, pp. 65–66. The original document is in the Vatican Secret Archive.

[fol. 12[r]]
[upper left-margin annotation] 'accepi die 17 novembris 1615 à segr.rio Cobellutio'[62]
Magni, et Universalis, Sanctissimique totius Orbis Patris
Domini Papae Pauli Quinti pedes cum profunda
summissione, et reverentia osculando,
Idamate [Amati: Idate] Masamune in Imperio
Iaponico Rex Voxij suppliciter
dicimus

Cum venisset Pater frater Ludovicus Sotelo Ordinis Sancti Francisci religiosus ad meum regnum, et in eo Christianam Legem praedicasset, me invisit, ab eoque eam audivi, et mysteria multa, quae de ritu sunt, et ceremonia christianorum aperuit, quae sanè in corde recondens, et perscrutans, cognoscens vera esse et salubria, susciperem profitenda, nisi me aliqua negotia deturbarent, et inexcusabiles causae detinerent, si tamen pro nunc ego non valeam, cupio saltim meas gentes, et subditos populos, christianos fieri; hoc, ut foeliciter eveniat, ad me mittas quaeso, Beatissime Pater, Religiosos Ordinis Sancti Francisci, qui de observantia nuncupantur; hos enim praecipue diligo, et observo; tua vero Altitudo ipsis ample concedere non horreat omnes licentias, favores, et quaecunque alia ad id necessaria. Ego autem iam terram hanc ingressos adiuvare non desistam: sed in Monasteriis aedificandis, et in alijs rebus, quibus potero beneficijs inserviam; similiterque expostulo, ut in meo Regno disponas, gubernes, instituas, omnia ea quae ad propagandam sanctam Dei legem utilia tibi fore placuerint, praecipue, ut in eo instituas, et crees quendam magnum Praelatum instanter supplico, cuius observantia, et sollicitudine omnes, qui in eo habitant quam pridie Christianos fieri non dubito; de ipsius [fol. 12[v]] autem expensis, et redditibus ne quaeso anxius sis, quia ut copiose fiat, nostre sollicitudinis, et curae proprium esse volumus.

Cuius rei causa ad te mitto praefatum fratem Ludovicum Sotelo legatum meum, a quo possis de corde meo, quae tibi visa fuerint sciscitari; optime namque novit, quae circa praedicta in eo sunt, et haec, ut effectum habeant ipsi roganter misso, benevolas aures concedat, et honorem praebeat tua Beatitudo, cui etiam comitabitur quidam nobilis eques domus meae, qui Faxecura Rotuyemon nominatur, qui similiter legatus meus existit, ut ambo mei vices agentes obsequij, et obedientiae causa ad sanctissimam usque Romanam Curiam pervenientes tuos beatissimos pedes pro me osculentur, et si forte praedictus frater [Amati: Pater] Ludovicus Sotelo in via fuerit vita functus quilibet alius ab ipso designatus, ut legatus ad te admittatur tamquam si ipse viveret.

Cognovi praeterea, quod meum a Novae Hispaniae Regnis, quae potestati, ac ditioni potentissimi Regis Hispaniae Philippi subsunt, non multum distat: qua propter cum desiderio communicandi cum ipso et cum illis christianorum Regnis, eius amicitiam exopto, quod equidem sic fore confido si tua auctoritas interveniat, precibus humiliter peto, ut hoc Altitudo tua incipiat, et ad finem usque perducat, maxime [fol. 13[r]] quia necessaria via religiosis a te in hoc Regnum missis est. Prae omnibus pro me orabis

omnipotentem Deum, ut ad eius amicitiam valeam pervenire. Si vero in hoc Regno aliqua videris tuo obsequio, et voluntati gratiosa, iubeat Altitudo tua, quoniam, ut voluntati tuae respondeamus, totis viribus adimplebimus. Hunc autem licet exigua sint dona, quia tamen ex longinqua regione adveniunt, cum reverentia, et timore pauca, ex Iapone tibi offero. In omnibus alijs nos remittimus ad praedictum Patrem Sotelo, et equitem Rotuyemon, et ea quae ex parte nostra tractaverint, et rata fecerint, ipsa et rata esse volumus. Ex Civitate, et Curia, nostra Fendai [=Sendai] Anno Decimo Octavo aetatis Quecho quarto, die Lunae nonae, idest Anno Salutis Millesimo Sexcentesimo tertio decimo. Pridie Nonas Octobris.

Cognomen dignitatis	Nomen et Cognomen Regis
Matucundayra Mutcunocami	Idate Masamune

Dies inscriptionis ut supra

English translation:

Friar Luis Sotelo, of the Franciscan Order, having come to my kingdom and preached the Christian law, he then had an audience with me, and I heard his words regarding the Christian law. He revealed to me the many Christian mysteries and rites and ceremonies, which I took to heart and pondered further; whereupon I came to see that they were true and led to salvation. I would have converted, had I not been detained by certain affairs and prevented by matters that I could not ignore. However, although I may not be able to convert at present, I do want at least my people and other subjects under my rule to become Christian. In order that this may take its auspicious course, I beseech you, Most Holy Father, to send to me the Franciscan Brothers of the Regular Observance, for I favour and hold in regard these especially; and may it not displease Your Highness to grant them generously all the privileges, favours and any other thing needed to this end. I shall not cease to assist them once they have reached my kingdom: rather with all the benefits I can give them I will serve them in the building of monasteries and other things. I likewise request that in my kingdom You order, govern and institute every thing you take to be needed for the propagation of God's holy law; and beg in particular that you will immediately create a great Prelate [*sic* for 'Bishop'], under whose diligent protection I have no doubt that all the inhabitants of this kingdom will become Christians as soon as possible; as for his expenses and income, I beg You not to be anxious, for we want to make it our care and duty to ensure these be on a generous scale.

To the advancement of this cause, I send the aforementioned Friar Luis Sotelo to You as my envoy: what answers You will see fit to seek from him You shall obtain as though from mine own heart, for he knows very well what my innermost views are on these matters. And in order that these things may happen, may Your Holiness lend him a benevolent hearing, as I have sent him for this reason, and show him honour. He comes accompanied by a noble lord of my court by the name of Faxecura Rotuyemon, who is also my ambassador, so that both, in my stead, may in obsequy and obedience come to the Holy Roman Curia to kiss Your most blessed feet, and if by accident the abovesaid Friar Luis Sotelo should perish in the journey, allow any one else that he has appointed to be admitted in Your presence as ambassador as though he [Sotelo] were living.

I further understand that my kingdom lies not far from the Kingdoms of New Spain under the power and rule of the most powerful Philip, King of Spain; for this reason, due to my wish to communicate with Him and those Christian kingdoms, I heartily seek His friendship. I am confident that this will happen, if Your authority intervenes, and we humbly beg Your Highness to begin this favour and follow it through to the end, especially as this is a necessary route for the Religious sent by You to this kingdom. Above all other

matters, I ask you to pray for me to Almighty God that I may obtain his friendship. If there are further favours from this kingdom that you see would be pleasing to your obsequy and will, Your Highness should command them, for we will make all efforts to comply with your wishes. I reverently and timidly present to You these few gifts from Japan: although they are few, since they come from a distant land, with reverence and awe I offer them to you. For all other matters we entrust our faith to Father Sotelo and lord Rotuyemon, and whatever they negotiate and approve on our behalf, we will consider ratified as well.
From our city and court of Fendai [= Sendai], in the year XVIII of the IVth age of Quecho, on the day of the Ninth Moon, or 9 October of the 1613th year of our Salvation.

Official Name
Matucundayra Mutcunocami

Name and Surname of the King
Idate Masamune

Date as above

Document V

The page transcribed below contains early drafts of the answers that were later made to the Japanese Embassy, and are thus of great interest: ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*. 'Giappone, IV, 1615', fol. 15r–v.

[fol. 15r] Considerazioni che si propongono
Il Re de Voxu nel Giappone pretende di sucedere a forza d'arme nel impero di tutta l'Isola etc. Procura commercio e confederazione con la corona di Spagna.

Considerare
Se questa Ambasciata può essere più per Raggion di Stato che di Religione / di Stato: Perchè se desidera la confederazione predetta è perchè le sarà utile per li trafichi ne suoi Porti e di reputazione per l'aquisto del Imperio

Domande circa la Religione
Religiosi con privilegi et indulti concessi ad altri Religiosi mandati nel' India
Vedere come e di che qualità si hanno da mandare

Vescovi e Prelati
Come si può creare più Vescovi se non si è fatta assignatione d'entrate per le cose necessarie al culto Divino e mantenimento delli Cleri

Reliquie de Santi
A chi si haveranno da mandare se il Re non è anco battezzato et non vi è Prelato nè capo in quel regno — dove saranno colocate se non vi è Chiesa

[fol.15v] Investitura del Regno
Come si può pensare a questo sin tanto che il Re non sia battezzato et nelle lettere accenna che per adesso non lo può fare

Stocco e Cappello
In mano a chi si haverà da mettere in quelle parti fino a tanto che il Re non è battezzato. / Se il Re non si farà Cristiano come tornare a dietro.

Religione di Cavalieri
Come si può concedere le insegne di San Paolo a chi per ancora non è discepolo di San Paolo / Come resterà la gratia se il Re non si facesse Cristiano

Jus Patronati

Non pare che per adesso si habbi da trattare di questa gratia perchè a suo tempo nella erretione che si farà delli Vescovati e benefitij nel istessa si farà la riserua del *Jus patronati*.

English translation:

Considerations put forward:
The King of Voxu in Japan aspires to gain command of the entire island by force of arms etc. Proposing [an agreement of] trade and allegiance with the crown of Spain.

Consider:
Whether this embassy might be occasioned by reason of state instead of religion / of state: For if he wants the said allegiance it is because it will favour trade within his ports and will enhance his reputation as he attempts to gain command of the empire.

Questions regarding Religion
Religious with privileges and indults conceded to the Religious of other orders sent to India / See in what manner and of what kind these ought to be sent

Bishops and Prelates
How new bishops are to be created when no provision has been made for expenses for either the worship of God or to support the clergy

Saintly Relics
To whom they should be entrusted if the King is not yet baptized nor is there any prelate or chief in that kingdom — where are the relics to be held while there is no church building

Investiture of the Kingdom
How this may be conceived while its King is not baptized and suggests in his letters that he cannot be baptized for the time being

Stock and Cap
To whom they are to be given in those provinces for as long as the King is not baptized. / And, should the King not become a Christian, how to go back on this?

Orders of Knights
How the insignia of St Paul may be conferred upon anyone who is not yet a disciple of St Paul / What would be the position regarding this grace should the King not become a Christian

Jus Patronati

Discussion of this grace appears not to be in order at present since when Bishoprics shall in due course be created with the attendant benefices, the provision of *Jus patronati* shall also follow.

Document VI

Draft of the position assumed by each Cardinal with regard to the demands of the Japanese delegation. The names of each Cardinal appear in abbreviated form, but are here given in full. The minute appears on the left-hand column of the folio. Session of Congregation of the Holy Office on 1 December 1615: ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630.* 'Giappone, IV, 1615', fol. 36.

[fol. 36] [upper margin]
'Die Martis 1 Decembris 1615 coram Ill.mis et Rev.mis DD.is Cardinalibus Sanctae Caeciliae, Aldobrandino, Bellarminio, Zappata, Sancti Eusebij, Verallo, Bonsio, Aracaeli et Asculano.

[Left-hand column]
Ald[obrandini]. Necessita conformarsi con la resolutione del Consiglio.
Bell[armino]. Non è necessario far vescovo per il presente Regno dove non si è informati del bisogno, et che cristiani vi siano.
Zap[ata]. Si scriva al Nuntio che ne tratti col Re et suo Conseglio del modo con che si possa creare il Vescovo, parendo giusto che si facci un Vescovo in questo Regno.
S. Eusebii. Se non ci vien bene il Re di Spagna, non si può far vescovo, et così bisogna conformarsi con la resolutione del Re; per mezzo di Mons. Nuntio rapporti al Re et suoi Ministri che conviene che si facci.
Verallo. Che il Re permetta si facino Chiese, monasterij, e vescovo; ordinare al Nuntio, che, per togliere ogni difficoltà, persuada a S. M. che è necessario si crei un Vescovo.
Bon[si]. Che il Nuntio persuada al Re che sarebbe bene etc. *ex condenda*.
Aracoeli. Mons. Nuntio lo persuada che è bene e non ci è cosa che impedisca la creatione di fare un Vescovo nel regno di Voxu.
Ascol[ano]. E' necessario fare un vescovo et si per la predicatione evangelica. Con l'aiuto et il favore del Re.
S. Ceciliae. Il medesimo.

English translation:

[upper margin]
Session of Tuesday 1 December 1615 in the presence of the Most Illustrious and Reverend Cardinals of St Cecilia, Aldobrandini, Bellarmine, Zapata, St Eusebius, Verallo, Bonsi, Aracoeli, Ascolano.

[Left-hand column]:
Aldobrandini. We must conform with the Council resolutions.
Bellarmine. It is not necessary to create bishops in this Kingdom before we know their needs, and whether there are any Christians there.
Zapata. Write to the Nuncio so he may discuss the matter of creating a bishop with the King and his Council, it seeming right that there be a bishop in this Kingdom.
St Eusebius. If the King of Spain sees no good can come of it, no bishop can be created; we must hence conform to the King's decision; through the offices of Mons. Nuncio [who is to] be entrusted with reporting to the King and his Ministers as to what should be done.
Verallo. Ask the King to allow the making of Churches, monasteries, and a bishop; order the Nuncio, in order that all impediments be removed, to persuade His Majesty that the creation of a bishop is necessary.
Bonsi. The Nuncio should persuade the King that it would be for the best etc. *ex condenda*.
Aracoeli. Mons. Nuncio should persuade the King that it is for the good and that there is no impediment to the creation of a bishop in the kingdom of Voxu.
Ascolano. It is also necessary to create a bishop for the preaching of the Gospel. With the aid and benevolence of the King.
St Cecilia. The same.

Document VII

Draft of the position assumed by each Cardinal with regard to the demands of the Japanese delegation. The names of each Cardinal appear in abbreviated form, but are here given in full.
The folios are written in two columns. Session of Congregation of the Holy Office on 28 November 1615: ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*. 'Giappone, IV, 1615', fols 37[r–v] and 40[r].

[fol. 37[r]] [upper margin, centre] Die sabbati 28 [Novembris] 1615
scrivere à Mons. Nuntio.
[Left-hand column]
Religiosi
Ar[acoeli]. Mittantur/si mandino Il re offrìsce la cifra per 30: che tratti con il Re e Consiglio e che il Com.[sario] Gen.[le] dell'Indie acciò nomini / [con] particolare cura / più esemplari e migliori soggetti. Senza legarci le mani di mandarne anco altri, et che non si intenda però nessuno che non se ne possi mandare d'altra religione. Piaceria che loro specificassero il numero. Mettere in considerazione se fece meglio mandare le navi per la via di Portogallo. Che tratti col Re e Consiglio che conviene che si mandino et tratti della forma: circa la qualità, et numero all'ordinario col Com.[sario] Gen.[le].

Secolari
[Sia fatto] come lo solito

Vescovo
Ald[obrandini]. Si facci. San Gregorio là mandò Agostino et il fu ricevuto, et fece vescovo. Il Vescovo del Giappone non può sperare per <illeg.>. /Mandare il vescovo acciò sia capo di 4000 missionari in tutto il Giappone. Non far vescovo là, ma dare un titolo di qua con obbligo di dar cenno alla sede Apostolica.
Bell[armino]. Hanno bisogno d'altri vescovi, non si è fatto per le persecuzioni: e per questo rispetto non è bene farlo adesso: aspettare che il Re si converta, il Re di Spagna non demanda. Non siamo sicuri che possa seguire. Il P. Sotelo havendo fatto una capelletta nocque <illeg.> et il Imperatore 30 persone giustiziò.[63] Il vescovo del Giappone è suffraganeo di Goa. Mandare un visitatore vescovo non Regolare, ma Prete Secolare.
[Right-hand column]:
sera
Ill.[mi] Rv.mi Car.[les] S.[ctae] Ceciliae, Aldobrandino, Bellarminio, Zappata, S.[ti] Eusebij, Verallo, Bonsio, Aracoeli, Asculano
Il Giappone soggetto a Portogallo. Se revocare in dubio l'ambasceria. Se è legatione et à che effetto viene. Il Re scrive semplicemente. Senza lettera del Nuntio. Interessi particolari sotto questa ambasciata.
<sulle domande>
Si consideri che <le> domande così che possono convenire a tutto il Giappone non solo al Regno di Voxu. Potria l'Imperatore maggiore [mover] guerra al Masamune.
~~Concederli~~
Si possino concedere che le domande son giuste, ma dovria vedersi la materia di Stato. Rimettere a Mon. Nuntio che la comunicasse con li Consiglieri di Stato del Re di Spagna. Non è verisimile che l'Ambasciata non habbia comunicato il tutto al Re.
Genera confusione la via del Messico su la rotta di Portogallo: la via delle Filippine.

[fol. 37v] in two columns, continues
[Left-hand column]:
Zap[ata]. È giusto darlo. Il modo rimettiamolo al Re. Dargli buona speranza, et intanto pigliar informatione prima di farlo per il Mon. Nuntio
S. Eusebij: a comunicargli, sapere le difficoltà che proporlo cristiano à nel Regno, avvertire che non hanno emulazione su li Gesuiti e li Regulari. Che tutti restino nella provincia di Goa.
Verallo. Il Giappone è tanto grande che un vescovo non può supplire. et però è necessario creare un vescovo. non può pensare di farlo <illeg.> per la lontananza del paese. Proporlo convertito; La buona speranza d'illuminazzione
Bonsi. Soprassedere per adesso, dandogli ogni speranza, bastando di suadere li suddetti Padri dargli un Superiore: convertito il Re si potrà far vescovo, quando il Re si farà cattolico.
Aracoeli. Che si debba creare vescovo; e limitarli la diocesi. Nè è necessario aspettare che il Re diventi Cattolico; [deve] il vescovo facilitare la conversione. Vescovo titolare
Ascul[ano]. Li Regulari che si mandano non hanno cura d'anime particolari, hanno però bisogno di un capo, et à consultare sia Vescovo; di mandare vescovo titolare che habbia buona cura di quelli che si convertono, et soprintendere a tutti li Regolari. Et dopo essendoci bisogno [di un] vescovo si potrà qua <nominare un> vescovo titolare.
S. Cecilia. dove si introduce la fede, ci deve essere il vescovo a fare un vescovo di quel Regno con obbligo che essendo la Christianità si possino creare altri vescovi. Col mezzo del Nuntio <sia a> stabilire il resto dal Re di Spagna et suo Consiglio, circa il soggetto.
[Right-hand column] Arcivescovo
Si faccino sedi suffraganee di Goa; et qui si habbia da fare editto ò da qui si <illeg.> poco deporlo
4. Circa il commercio con Spagna
Scrivere a Mons. Nuntio che dica a S. Maestà che se comple al suo [esercitio]. oremus che si farà l'offitio.
Reliquie
Darli qualche reliquia insigne ma non corpo di Santo et fatte le Chiese, si collichino nelle Chiese.
Investitura, stocco e cappello.
Ex nunc prout ex tunc
Quando sarà battezzato, se ne tratterà. nell'Investitura ci vuole cura speciale, se vuole essere feudatario, dandoli tutta la speranza possibile che se riceverà la protettione della Sede Apostolica et che si mandarà anco Nuntio <illeg.>.
Nominazione de Vescovi et Istituzione de Cavalieri
Mantenerlo in speranza che quando sarà fatto Christiano et alzate le Chiese, se li potrà dare soddisfattione.

[fol. 40r] [upper margin, left] [sign of continuation]
Cristiani Japonenses
[Left-hand column]
Arcivescovo
Nihil
Seminarium
Risolvendosi di fare il Vescovo si dovrà erigere il seminario cum annexiis et connexiis; che non vogliano che N. S. lo mantenghi.
Pro Canonizzazione SS.ti Regularium
Che si verifichi giudizialmente il loro martirio.
Che la S.ta di N. B. commetta la causa acciò si verifichi il martirio. Si facino le debite diligenze per verificare il martirio.

Si potrà commettere a qualche <uno> fatto Vescovo, et se li testimonij sono à Roma, si possano escutire
Confermare la Confraternità
Si rimette alla Benignità di Nostro Signore che <illeg.> aggregarla alle Stigmate di Roma

English translation:

[upper margin, centre] Saturday 28 November 1615
write to Mons. Nuntio
[Left-hand column]
Religious
Aracoeli. Mittantur/They should be sent. The king suggests 30 in number: to negotiate with the King and his Council in order that the Commissioner General of the Indies nominate with particular care more and better qualified individuals. Without tying our hands about sending more, and on condition that no one [be allowed to] understand that no religious of different religion [order] can be sent. It would be good if they specify the number. Consider whether to send the ships via the Portuguese route. It is expedient that they be sent and that all formalities be discussed concerning quality and number with the Commissioner General, as customary.
Secular religious
Let the usual course be taken
Bishop
Aldobrandini. This should be done. St Gregory sent Augustine[64] far away [to England] and he was received and nominated bishops. The Bishop of Japan cannot hope for the Nuncio's help to set him up there <illeg.>. Send the bishop to be at the head of 4,000 missionaries throughout Japan. No bishops can be created there, but a title be conferred here with the obligation that they report to the Apostolic See.
Bellarmine. They need new bishops, none were made because of the persecutions: and on this account it is still untimely: wait for the King to convert, the King of Spain does not demand. We are not sure that this can happen. Father Sotelo built a little chapel there and caused damage <illeg.> and the Emperor executed thirty people. The Bishop of Japan is suffragan to the Bishop of Goa. Send a visiting bishop not from the regular orders, but a secular priest.
[Right-hand column]
evening
Illustrious and Reverend Cardinals of St Cecilia, Aldobrandini, Bellarmine, Zapata, St Eusebius, Verallo, Bonsi, Aracoeli, Ascolano
Japan subject to Portugal. Whether to revoke the embassy, in doubt. Whether it is a legation and what may result of it. The King simply writes without a letter from the Nuncio. Particular interests behind this embassy.
<On the questions>
It should be borne in mind that such questions may concern all of Japan not just the kingdom of Voxu. The greater Emperor could wage war on Masamune.
~~To be conceded~~
It may be conceded that the petitions are right, but matters of state have to be taken into account.
Remit to Mon. Nuncio for him to transmit it to the Councillors of State of the King of Spain. It is unlikely that the Embassy has not communicated everything to the King.
The route via Mexico on the way to Portuguese routes will generate confusion: route via the Philippines.

[Left-hand column], continues
Zapata. It is right to concede it. Let the King decide in what manner. Give him good hopes, and in the meantime gather information before proceeding through Mon. Nuncio.
St Eusebius. Communicate this to him, be aware of the difficulties that proposing him as a Christian has in the Kingdom; warn them to take care not to be rivals of the Jesuits and Regulars. They should all be under the province of Goa.
Verallo. Japan is so large that one bishop is not sufficient. And for that reason a bishop must be created. Yet it is inconceivable, [illegible] owing to the distance of the country. Propose that it be done following his conversion. Good hope that there will be enlightenment
Bonsi. Delay for the time being, and give him every hope, all that needs to be done is to persuade the aforementioned Fathers to give them a Superior: when the King has converted, a bishop can be made with the King having become a Catholic.
Aracoeli. A bishop has to be created and define the diocese. Nor is it necessary to wait for the King to become a Catholic; it shall be the bishop's task to facilitate his conversion; Titular bishop.
Ascolano. The Regulars that are sent are not pastors to specific souls, but are in need of a chief, and it should be the bishop who consults; to send a titular bishop to take good care of the converted and to be the head of all the regular priests. And should the need of a bishop arise later, we may then nominate a titular bishop.
St Cecilia. Wherever the faith is introduced, a bishop is needed to ordain a bishop from that kingdom, since once Christianity is there the ordination of bishops is possible. Through the Nuncio we may leave all further decisions regarding the subject to the King of Spain and his Council.
[Right-hand column]:
Archbishop
These bishoprics should be suffragan to Goa; and an edict should be made or thence [illegible] short time depose him
4. Regarding trade with Spain
Write to Mons. Nuncio to tell His Majesty that it will be done according to his will; *oremus* [let us pray] the agreement will be made.
Relics
Give them some eminent relic but not of a saint's body and when the churches are built, have them placed in the churches.
Investiture, stock and cap.
Ex nunc prout ex tunc [From now on just as it always has been].
Once he is baptized, the matter can be discussed. Special care has to be taken in an investiture if he wishes to be a feudatory, giving him all hope that he will receive the protection of the Holy See and the Nuncio will be sent too.
Nomination of Bishops and Institution of Knighthoods
Keep him in hope that when he is baptized and churches are built, he may be granted satisfaction.

[upper margin, left]
Japanese Christians
[Left-hand column]
Archbishop
Nihil

Seminarium
Upon resolution that a bishop be consecrated, a seminary will have to be instituted *cum*

annexiis et connexiis [with all suitable accompaniments]; and that they do not demand that His Holiness provide for its upkeep.

Pro Canonization of Regulars
That the circumstances of their martydom be verified *de jure*.
That His Holiness begin the proceedings for verifying their martyrdom. All due care be taken to verify their martyrdom.
The matter might be entrusted to someone nominated bishop and if the witnesses are in Rome, they may be heard.

Confirmation of the Confraternity
To be left to the good will of His Holiness that it might be linked to the Confraternity of the Stigmata in Rome.

Document VIII

Fair copy of the final document of the position assumed by each Cardinal with regard to the demands of the Japanese delegation, read by the Pope, on 2 December, ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*. 'Giappone, IV, 1615', fols 38^{r-v}–39^{r}.

[fol. 38^{r}] [left-hand margin annotation by the secretary] Parere degli Ill.mi e Rev.mi Consultori/ Card.li del S. Off.^{o} /Datane copia / d'ordine di N. Sig.re/al signor di Foligno, et/ à Mon.re Strozzi secret.rio/di Brevi a 3 di/ dicembre 1615

[upper margin, centre] [in the hand of the secretary] 'La Sant.tà di N. Sig.re lo lesse Mercoledì li 2 di dicembre 1615 quando andai all'audienza solita dopo pranzo.

Sopra le petizioni degli Ambasciatori del re di Voxu nel Giapone

Che se li mandino religiosi di Minori Oss.^{ti} Di S. Franc.^{co} con privilegij et Indulti concessi ad altri religiosi mandati nell'Indie.

Che si mandino li Religiosi necessarij per aiuto et benefitio di quell'anime et si scriva a Mons. Nuntio in Spagna che tratti con S. M.^{tà} della forma et modo che si dovrà tenere nel mandarli. Circa la qualità et numero di essi ne tratti con Com.^{rio} gen.^{le} dell'Indie, acciò si faccia scielta de migliori e più essemplari soggetti; ne per questa missione de Frati di S. Francesco si prohibisce agli altri di poterci andare conforme è stato solito farsi sin'adesso.

Che si debba creare un Vescovo

Che è necessario fare un Vescovo e scrivere à Mons.^{re} Nuntio che ne tratti con S. M.^{tà} e suo Conseglio persuadendoli quanto sia necessario et convienga far' almeno per adesso un Ves[cov]^{o} nel Regno di Voxu per propagatione della fede et salute di quell'anime ricorrendo in ciò al favore et aiuto di S. M.^{tà}.

Di fare officio con S. M.^{tà} Cat.^{ca} che voglia tener commercio et corrispondenza col Re di Voxu.

Pare che se li possa dare soddisf.e scrivendo a Mon. Nunzio che ne passi con S. M.^{tà} quell'officio che conviene al suo buon governo e stato.

Relique de' Santi

Che se li possa dare qualche reliquia, ma non però Corpo di Santo, ordi[fol. 38^{v}]nandoli che fatte le Chiese si collichino et custodiscano decent.te in esse.

Investitura del Regno, Stocco, et Cappello.

Quando il Re sarà battezzato, potrà far trattare di questo, dandole intanto tutta la speranza possibile che si riceverà sotto la prottettione della sede Ap.lica.

Nominatione de Vescovii et Istitutione de Cavalieri.

Mantenerlo in speranza che quando sarà fatto Christiano et havrà dotato le Chiese, si vedrà di darli la soddisf.ne che si potrà.

Domande dei Christiani del Giappone

Creare arcivescovo

Non è giudicato ragionevole nè conveniente per adesso, non vi essendo altro che un Vescovo.

Seminario

Risolvendosi di fare il Vescovo nel regno di Voxu, si dovrà in quella Diocesi erigere il Seminario, et intanto saria bene intendere da chi da il Mem[oria]le il senso di quelle parole: 'ex postulant à S.te V. erectionem Seminarij cum annexis congruis'

[fol. 39^{r}] Dichiarare per veri martiri e santi alcuni religiosi di S. Francesco morti nel Giappone

Si facciano le debite diligenze per verificare il Martirio, et se in Roma si trovano di presenza testimonij, si potriano essaminare, et commettere a chi piacerà alla S.tà V. in quelle parti che ne pigli informatione et la mandi.

Confirmare Confraternità; Concedere indulgenze, Altari privilegia, etc.

Si rimette alla benignità della S.tà V. et quanto alla confraternità delle Piaghe di S. Fran.^{co} già eretta, si potria aggregare alla Confraternità delle Stimmate di Roma.

English translation:

The opinion of the Most Illustrious and Reverend Inquisitors, Cardinals of the Holy Office, of which copy is sent, upon order of His Holiness, to the Bishop of Foligno and Monsignore Strozzi, Secretary for the Briefs, on 3 December 1615.

[centre] His Holiness read it on Wednesday, 2 December 1615 when I went to the usual audience after lunch.

Petitions of the Ambassadors of the King of Voxu, Japan

That Religious of the Franciscan Friars Minor of the Observance be sent with privileges and indults accorded to other orders in the Indies.

That Religious be sent for the help and benefit of those souls and that Mons. Nuncio in Spain should be written to, asking him to negotiate with His Majesty over the precise ways they are to be sent. On their quality and numbers he should deal with the Commissioner General of the Indies in order to choose the best and most exemplary individuals, but this mission of the Franciscan friars does not preclude other orders from going, which is in conformity with what has been done in the past.

That a bishop be created

That it is necessary to create a bishop and write to Mons. Nuncio to negotiate with His Majesty and his Council in order to persuade them how necessary it is and that at least for the time being it is best to create a bishop in the Kingdom of Voxu to the end of propagating the Faith and the care of the converted souls, with the aid and benevolence of the King.

That agreement be made with His Catholic Majesty that he open trade and correspondence with the King of Voxu.

It seems that they may be granted satisfaction by writing to Mons. Nuncio, asking him to deal with the King to persuade him that this agreement would be for the good of his State.

Saints' Relics

That they be given some relic but not of a saint's body and when the churches are built, have them placed and decently preserved in the churches.

Investiture, stock and cap.

Once the King is baptized, the matter can be discussed; in the meantime he should be given every possible hope that he will be received under the protection of the Holy See.

Nomination of bishops and institution of knighthoods

Keep the King in hope that when he becomes a Christian and churches are endowed, we will try to give him whatever satisfaction is possible.

Demands of Christians of Japan

Creation of the Archbishop

Creating an archbishop is not reasonable or convenient at present, because only one bishop is there at the moment.

Seminary

Upon resolution that a Bishop be made in the Kingdom of Voxu, a seminary will have to be instituted in that diocese; meanwhile it would be important to know from those who have presented the requests the meaning of the words: 'ex postulant à S.te V. erectionem Seminarij cum annexis congruis' [they request from Your Holiness the building of a seminary with all suitable accompaniments].

Declare real martyrs and saints some Religious of the Order of St Francis who died in Japan

All due care to be taken in verifying their martyrdom; if some witnesses are now in Rome, they may be heard. Your Holiness should entrust to someone in Japan the task of obtaining information to be communicated to us.

Confirmation of confraternities, concession of indulgences, altars, etc.

To be left to the kindness of Your Holiness; and as for the already existing Confraternity of St Francis's Wounds, it may be linked to the Confraternity of the Stigmata in Rome.

Translated by Mattia Bilardello

Notes to Chapter 12

1. 'Les loix de la conscience, que nous disons naistre de nature, naissent de la coustume; chacun ayant en veneration interne les opinions et moeurs approuvées et receuës autour de luy, ne s'en peut desprendre sans remors, ny s'y appliquer sans applaudissement', Montaigne, 'De la coutume et de ne changer aisément une loi reçue', in *Essais*, I, 23; [The laws of conscience, which we say are born of Nature are born of custom; since man inwardly venerates the opinions and the manners approved and received about him, he cannot without remorse free himself from them nor apply himself to them without self-approbation]: see Montaigne, 'On habit: and on never easily changing a traditional law', in *The Complete Essays*, ed. by M. A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 130.
2. For instance, *Sul matrimonio dei Giapponesi (1669)*, in ACDF, St. St., UU 15, Carte Caprano, 3.3.1.3.
3. For the history and the ancient and new classification of the Archive, cf. Alejandro Cifres, 'Das Archiv des Sanctum Officium: alte und neue Ordnungsformen', in *Inquisition, Index, Zensur. Wissenskulturen der Neuzeit im Widerstreit,* ed. by Hubert Wolf (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003), pp. 46–69.
4. Cf. Alejandro Cifres and Daniel Ponziani, 'La censura negli archivi del Sant'Ufficio e dell'Indice', *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, 24:1 (2012), 297-322; see also Francesco Beretta, 'L'archivio della Congregazione del Sant'Ufficio: bilancio provvisorio della storia e natura dei fondi d'antico regime', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 37:1 (2001), 29–58. Important for understanding the purposes of the Congregation, and the attempt to establish a firm hierarchy between philosophy and theology, ratified in the decree *Apostolici regiminis* of 1513, is Francesco Beretta, 'Orthodoxie philosophique et inquisition romaine aux 16e et 17e siècles. Un essai d'interpretation', in *Historia philosophica*, 3 (2005), 67–97.
5. Cf. *infra*, Appendix, Document I.
6. I have not yet been able to carry out an exhaustive examination of all the original documents in this Archive or in other libraries such as the Vatican Secret Archive.
7. Cf. ACDF, S.O., Decreta 1601, fol. 24: sessione della Congregazione tenuta in Feria VI (January 1601) in Palatio in Monte Citorio: 'Fuit lecta minuta expediendi circa missionem regularium aliarum religionum ultra Jesuitas in Insulas Japonicas praedicandum Verba Dei, et Evangelium Gentilibus tractatum sit Archipiscopo Ghoano circa huiusmodi missiones dirigendas.'
8. On 3 November 1534 the creation of the Diocese of Goa was confirmed in the Bull *Aequum reputamus* of Pope Paul III, since the death of Clement VII had prevented the publication of a specific Bull. On 4 February 1558, Pope Paul IV's Bull *Etsi sancta* promoted the Diocese to the rank of metropolitan Archdiocese; finally, Pope Gregory XIII with the Brief *Pastoralis Officii Cura* of 13 December 1572 nominated the archbishops of Goa as patriarchs of the Eastern Indies.
9. Taking advantage of the difficulties experienced by Portugal, under the domination of the Spanish monarchy, Alvaro II (1578–1614) sent an ambassador to Rome to negotiate ecclesiastical issues in 1604.
10. Valignano is discussed by historians of the missions to the East in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the work of Luis Fróis (1532–1597) is a classic, his *Historia de Japam* (1597) was published much later in a critical edition: *Historia de Japam*, ed. by Joseph Wicki, 5 vols (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1976–1984). There is a modern Japanese translation: フロイス〔著〕松田毅一,川崎桃太訳, 日本史, 東京,中央公論社 1977–1980, 12 vols. There is also a paperback edition. However no one treated him *ex professo*, with the exception of the Neapolitan Jesuit Bernardino Ginnari, who gave a 60-page profile of Valignano in the second volume of his *Saverio Orientale o vero Istorie de' cristiani illustri dell'Oriente* (Naples: Francesco Savio, 1641). He was discussed by Father Daniello Bartoli, S.J., in *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Gesù. Il Giappone*, 2 vols (Rome: Ignatio de' Lazzeri, 1660). Using the letters of Valignano and of other missionaries to the East and other sources at the Rome Archives, Bartoli devoted 140 pages in the first volume of his *Del Giappone* to the Visitor of the Indies, and another 20–25 pages in volumes II and III. See also J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London: Routledge, 1992).

11. Cf. Josef Franz Schutte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*, I. Band: *Von der Ernennung zum Visitator bis zum ersten Abschied von Japan (1573–1582)*, I. Teil: *Das Problem (1573–1580)* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1968).
12. Father Matteo Ricci (Macerata, 6 October 1552–Beijing, 11 May 1610). He was discussed by Father Daniello Bartoli, S.J., *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Gesù. La Cina*, 2 vols (Rome: Lazzari Varese, 1663): Bartoli is the most accurate biographer of Ricci.
13. Recently, an interesting colloquium was held on the occasion of the exhibition at Palazzo Pitti *Giappone Terra di Incanti* on 'Alessandro Valignano e la scoperta del Giappone. Pioniere dei rapporti tra Oriente e Occidente, ideatore del Grand Tour', Florence-Biblioteca degli Uffizi, Salone Magliabechiano, Wednesday 13 June 2012.
14. ACDF, St. St., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599–1630*, 4; the cover of folder 4, upper left-margin is inscribed: 'Archivio del S.O. Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630'; in the middle of the page: 'Giappone, IV, 1615. Legatio Faxecurae Rotuyemon Japponensis ac Fratris Ludovici Sotili hispani ordinis minoris observantium S. Francisci missorum ad Paulum V nomine Idamate Masamune regis Voxii in Impero Japonico. Petitiones oratorum, ac chrystianorum illarum partium.'
15. I believe these must be Porfirio Feliciani, a powerful figure in Paul V's secretariat and bishop of Foligno, and Pietro di Carlo di Lorenzo Strozzi, Secretary of Briefs for Paul V, both of whom had sent by order of the Pope a copy of a series of important letters and documents. On Feliciani, see Franco Pignatti, 'Feliciani, Porfirio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1962–), XLVI, 79–82.
16. Cf. Letter of Masamune, *Magni et Universalis Sanctissimique totius Orbis Patris Domini Papae Pauli Quinti pedes cum profunda summissione, et reverentia osculando Idate Masamune in Imperio Iaponico Rex Voxij, suppliciter dicimus,* in Scipione Amati, *La Historia del regno di Voxu del Giapone, dell'antichità, Nobiltà e valore del suo re Idate Masamune de li favori che ha fatti alla Christianità, e desiderio che tiene d'esser Christiano e dell'aumento di nostra santa Fede in quelle parti* (Rome: Giacomo Mascardi, 1615), pp. 65–66 (henceforth Amati, with page number).
17. Cf. *Oratio Fratis Gregorij Petrochae Mantuani, Ord. Min. De Obser.*, in Amati, pp. 67–71. Gregorio Pedrocca O.F.M. (Mantua 1570–Acqui 1632) was ordained Bishop of Acqui on 21 November 1620. On Pedrocca, cf. *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum* ... perducta e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, Gen. Ed. Conrad Eubel (Munster: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1913-[2002]), vol. IV: *A pontificatu Clementi PP. VIII (1592) usque ad pontificatum Alexandri PP. VIII (1667)*, ed. by Patrice Gauchat, p. 89.
18. Cf. *Petri Strozae S.mi Domini Nostri Secretario Apostolici Domestici Responsio*, in Amati, pp. 72–73. Pietro Strozzi (1569–1625), a Florentine, was secretary to Paul V and secretary for the Briefs: see *Le istruzioni generali di Paolo V ai diplomatici pontifici 1605–1621*, *Instructiones Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. by Silvano Giordano, 3 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), I, 267–68.
19. ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*, 4, fol. 2: 'Feria V Die 5.a Novembris 1615: Sua Sanctitas (Paulus V) fecit verbum circa adventum ad Urbem Oratoris Massamune (?) Reguli Japonensis qui ductus fuit per Europam a fratre Aloisio, sive Ludovico Sotilo, et aliis fratribus ordinis Minorum observantium, ac recensuit eius petitiones, et recitavit (?) litteras Episcopi Japonis circa eundem oratorem datas (die) 5 Martii 1610, et 5^{a} Octobris 1613, quas mandavit una cum aliis scripturis exhibendis a praedicto oratore considerari ab Illustrissimis Dominis.' The question marks in brackets are in the original. At the end of the document, the references to the two other documents in another hand are correct: *Decreta* 1615, fols 507, 517, and *Decreta* 1616, fols 13, 38.
20. Cf. *infra*, Appendix, II a.
21. Cf. *infra*, Appendix, II b.
22. Cf. *infra*, Appendix, II b.
23. Ibid.
24. This is how Amati describes himself in the frontispiece.
25. Amati, 'Al lettore', unnumbered pages (but pp. 7–8): 'Già si è visto con grand'ammiratione, che porgono i detti Religiosi la vita a pericolo per predicare la santa legge di Dio, et autenticar la verità che insegnano a i Gentili, havendo dato chiaro essempio della costanza, e fortezza Christiana, co'l santo, e glorioso martirio de i primi Martiri: il sangue de' quali hà reso

fertilissimo di maniera il campo del Signore, che in tutti i Regni del Giappone stà conosciuta la verità del santo Evangelio, et il numero de' fedeli arriva circa a quattrocentomila. Entrò doppò questo glorioso trionfo di martiri nel Giapone un valoroso soldato, e gran Capitano di Giesù Christo, chiamato il P. Fra Luigi Sotelo dell'Ordine di San Francesco Discalzo, natural di Siviglia; Ambasciatore di questa Ambasciata, ch'il Re Idate Masamune Re di Voxu invia a Nostro Signore stimulato dalla relatione del martirio, e spronato dall'ardente desiderio, che teneva di servire in quella nuova vigna del Signore, senza parteciparlo alle genti di sua casa, che per nobiltà e potenza sono de' primi Cavalieri di sua patria, affinchè non le impedissero il viaggio, e disturbassero il suo santo pensiero nell'anno 1599, s'imbarcò con alcuni Religiosi del suo Ordine, che andavano alle Filippine, e Giapone. Giunto à nuova Spagna, trovò ch'i suoi havevano scritto al Vicerè, che lo detenesse, come lo fece, occupandolo a leggere Theologia.'

26. Amati, 'Al lettore', p. 9.
27. Amati, 'Al lettore', p. 11.
28. Amati, p. 21.
29. *Relacion breve y sumaria del Edito que mandò publicar en todo su Reyno del Bojú, uno de los mas poderosos del Iapon, el Rey Idate Masamune, publicando la Fe de Cristo, y del Embaxador que embia a España en compañia del reverendo Padre Fray Luys Sotelo Recoleto Francisco, que viene con embaxada del Emperador del Iapon, hijo de Sevilla, y lo que en el viaje le sucediò,* in Amati, pp. 77–80.
30. Cf. *infra*, Appendix, II a.
31. Cf. *infra*, Appendix, II b.
32. Cf. the letter from the King of Spain to his ambassador at Rome, Francisco Count of Castro, ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*, 4, fols 17–18^{v}. This document is not included in the Appendix.
33. Letter from the King of Spain to Pope Paul V, from Valladolid, 1 August 1615, recorded in ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*, 4, fol. 16^{v}. This document is not included in the Appendix.
34. Letter from the King of Spain to the Count of Castro, Spanish ambassador to Rome, 20 September 1615, in ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*, 4, fol. 17^{r}. This document is not included in the Appendix.
35. Reply of the Count of Castro, Spanish ambassador to Rome, to King Philip III; with the petitions and requests of the Japanese Christians, ACDF, S.O., *Materiae Diversae ab anno 1599 ad 1630*, 4, fol. 18$^{r–v}$. This document is not included in the Appendix.
36. Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, Milan, 13 September 1560–Tivoli, 14 February 1618. Made a cardinal in the consistory of 19 December 1590, he received the red hat and the title of S. Cecilia, 14 January 1591.
37. Bonifazio Bevilacqua Aldobrandini, Ferrara 1571–1627, Cardinal from 3 March 1599.
38. Roberto Bellarmine, Montepulciano 1542–Rome 1621, nominated Cardinal on 3 March 1599.
39. Antonio Zapata y Cisneros, Madrid 1550–1635, made a Cardinal on 9 June 1604.
40. Ferdinando Taverna, Milanese, born in 1558, governor of Rome for 5 years. Made a Cardinal by Clement VIII on 9 June 1604, he received the red hat and the title of S. Eusebio, on 25 June 1604. Papal legate to the Marche, and governor of Ascoli from 1604 to 1606, he was elected Bishop of Novara by Paul V on 16 November 1615. Made a pastoral visit and celebrated a synod in 1618. Died 29 August 1619 in Novara, and was buried in Milan.
41. Fabrizio Verallo, Rome 1560–1624, made a Cardinal on 10 December 1608.
42. Jean de Bonsi, Florence 1554–Rome 1621, made a Cardinal on 17 August 1611.
43. Agostino Galamini, Brisighella 1533–Osimo 1639, Dominican. He was made a Cardinal on 17 August 1611, and received the title of Santa Maria in Aracoeli on 14 November 1612.
44. Cardinal Felice Centini, born at Ascoli in 1562, order of the Friars Minor, died 1641. Consultor of the H.O. from 1609; he was made a Cardinal on 17 August 1611.
45. ACDF, St. St., OO 15, 4. A volume of special importance, still bearing the signs of its time in Paris: the entire Archive was transferred to Paris on the orders of Napoleon with the indication 'ex S.O.'. The volume collects 57 'pieces', with modern progressive numeration up to folio 803. Items number 3 and 4 largely concern Japan. The volume was given the general title *Dubia super facultates concessas Episcopis et missionaris,* 1602–1756. Item 4 deals with Japan, with the dates 1602–1621, although in actual fact it includes documents from earlier years. It contains *c.* 40

folios. The doubts concern the ability to celebrate Mass in the presence of Gentiles ('pagans'), if they attend without being disrespectful, to confer Baptism outside of consecrated places, to give pardon for murder committed *ante Baptismum*, and also for murder committed *post Baptismum* in the instance of an unjust war, etc., etc. Folio 73 is the letter from the Bishop of Japan with his plea to the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Holy Office, asking for help on several taxing doubts and questions, and especially calling for the opinion of the Cardinals of St Eusebius and Bellarmine: 'si nihil obstaret, supplicat ut hoc Ill.mis Card. Bellarmino e di S.Eusebio deputetur.' From folio 78 (for 34 fols) the nine Cardinals of St Cecilia, Aldobrandini, Bellarmine, Zapata, St Eusebius, Verallo, Bonsi, Aracoeli and Ascolano, once more at the request of the Pope, formulate their opinions, preparatory to the meeting of the Congregation on 21 January 1616 (fol. 94).

46. Cf. fol. 36, *infra*, Appendix, VI.
47. Cf. fol. 36, *infra*, Appendix, VI.
48. Cf. fol. 36, *infra*, Appendix, VI.
49. Cf. fol. 36, *infra*, Appendix, VI.
50. Cf. fol. 36, *infra*, Appendix, VI.
51. Cf. fol. 37^{r}, *infra*, Appendix, VII.
52. Cf. fol. 37^{r}, *infra*, Appendix, VII.
53. Cf. fol. 37^{r}, *infra*, Appendix, VII, right-hand column.
54. Cf. fol. 37^{v}, *infra*, Appendix, VII, left-hand column.
55. Cf. fol. 37^{v}, *infra*, Appendix, VII, left-hand column.
56. Cf. fol. 37^{v}, *infra*, Appendix, VII, left-hand column.
57. Cf. fol. 37^{v}, vedi *infra*, Appendix, VII, right-hand column.
58. Cf. *supra*, n. 15.
59. Cf. *supra*, n. 18.
60. The transcription and translation of eight significant documents follows in the Appendix.
61. The Very Rev. Claudio Acquaviva, S.J. (14 September 1543–31 January 1615) was elected 5th Superior General of the Society of Jesus in 1581.
62. Scipione Cobelluzzi (1564–29 June 1626) was an Italian cardinal, archivist and librarian. He was chief archivist of the Vatican Secret Archives. Cf. Franca Petrucci, 'Cobelluzzi, Scipione', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Instituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1962–), xxvi, 433–35.
63. The Cardinal refers to the 1612 edict against Christians, which resulted in the destruction of the Franciscan Church and monastery in Edo.
64. Augustine of Canterbury (first third of the 6th century–probably 26 May 604) was a Benedictine monk who became the first Archbishop of Canterbury in the year 597 CE. Augustine was the prior of a monastery in Rome when Pope Gregory the Great chose him in 595 CE to lead a mission to Christianize Britain.

CHAPTER 13

❖

Catholic Censorship of Early Modern Psychology

Leen Spruit

During the first centuries of the Christian Era the need for an 'orthodox' psychology arose when early Christian authors engaged with contemporary philosophical culture. It became a crucial issue in the battle against Gnostic heresies and then, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in the controversy over Averroism after the spread of Aristotelian philosophy in the West. In the Renaissance, the Catholic Church was pressed to tackle still more challenges, not only the non-religious, 'philosophical' interpretations of Aristotle's works by Italian philosophers, but also several views on the origin of the human soul that were formulated as more or less explicit alternatives to Peripatetic and scholastic psychology.

This chapter presents an outline of the Catholic censorship of psychological views during the period between the rise of the Roman Congregations of the Inquisition (1543) and of the Index (1572), and the first prohibitions of modern philosophy in the second half of the seventeenth century.[1] I concentrate on philosophical and scientific works and views; theological treatises and ideas, concerning, for example, the 'state' of the separate soul or the beatific vision of God, are not taken into consideration. Furthermore, views and works that attracted the attention of the afore-mentioned Roman ecclesiastical bodies of doctrinal control are discussed.

Psychology was one of the very few disciplinary areas of natural philosophy where orthodoxy could be judged on the basis of formal juridical grounds. In effect, the General Council of Vienne (1311–12) had established, in the Decretal *Fidei catholicae fundamento*,[2] the Catholic doctrine against three points of Peter Olivi's teachings, among which was the question of the way the soul is united with the body. Subsequently, the papal Bull *Apostolici Regiminis*, which referred to Averroist and Alexandrist psychology, and the eternity of the world (issued on 19 December 1513 during the Fifth Lateran Council), obliged university professors to correct and thoroughly refute any suspect or heretical philosophical views.[3] Nonetheless, in the examination of philosophy and science, Catholic censorship suffered from a general lack of formal criteria to label and evaluate possibly heterodox views.[4] In general, the intimate link between Aristotelian natural philosophy, metaphysics, and (natural) theology made non-Aristotelian views suspect and easily turned any criticism of Aristotelian philosophy into an implicit attack on the logical possibility of the truths of faith and into a threat to the unity of the scholastic edifice of

learning and culture. This nexus entailed first of all strenuous opposition against heterodox Aristotelian views, but it also affected sixteenth-century versions of Platonism (Patrizi), as well as forms of naturalism (Pomponazzi, Cardano, Bruno), and of materialism (Telesio).

Psychological heterodoxy was also analysed in inquisitorial manuals. Discussing the errors made by philosophers in his *Directorium inquisitorum* (edited by Francisco Peña in 1578), Nicolas Eymerich devoted a large section to psychological deviations, censuring in particular Arabic noetics and the doctrine of metempsychosis.[5] Alfonso de Castro, author of *Adversus omnes haereses* (first edition: Paris 1534) and *De iusta haereticorum punitione* (first edition: Salamanca 1547), listed nine forms of deviation in matters psychological: the negation of the 'anima forma corporis' [soul as the form of the body] view, the identification of the 'spiraculum quod Deus spiravit in Adam' [the breath of life that God breathed into Adam] (Genesis 2. 7) with the soul, the creation of the soul before the body, the divine nature of the soul, the negation of the creation of the soul by God, the transmigration of vicious souls into demons, the mortality of the soul, the transmigration of the soul from one body to another, and the incarnation of the soul in the body as punishment for sins committed before the infusion.[6]

The first two sections of what follows present a cursory overview of psychological orthodoxy in the Ancient Church and Middle Ages, and of the challenges posed by early modern philosophy and science. The third section analyses some case studies, while section four considers institutional aspects, in particular the effects of censorship.

1. The genesis of orthodox psychology

In early Christianity, the issue of orthodox psychology came to the fore in the engagement with contemporary pagan culture. In particular, with the rise of the first heresies, the origin, nature and destiny of the human soul, as well as its relation to the body, and the transmission of original sin became crucial questions. From the outset, the basic problem in any Christian psychology was its scriptural justification. The Bible provides scant guidance on these matters, and the New Testament apparently contradicts the Old Testament. The Gospels and the Epistles of Paul stress the salvation of the human soul, while it is not evident that the Old Testament throughout either asserts or implies the distinct reality of the soul. As a consequence, Christian psychology was largely dependent upon extra-biblical sources, in particular on ancient medical and philosophical views.

Since on the one hand pagan philosophers were inclined to attack the Church and its doctrines, while on the other hand Christian apologists and theologians frequently borrowed the weapons of their adversaries when they thought that these weapons could serve their purpose, it is only to be expected that Christian writers would show a divergence of attitude in regard to ancient philosophy.

In his treatise *De anima*, Tertullian (*c.* 160–*c.* 220 CE) aims to show the failure of all philosophies to elucidate the nature of the soul, and argues eloquently that Christ alone can teach mankind the truth on such subjects. In particular he attacks Platonic and Gnostic heresies. In Tertullian's view, the very notion of an immaterial

substance is a non-sense, for 'spirit is a body of a special kind'. His own doctrine is a form of Stoic materialism, supported by arguments from medicine and physiology and by interpretations of Scripture. The soul is created, defined as 'flatus factus ex spiritu Dei' [breath created from the spirit of God].[7] It is both immortal and corporeal, and arises together with the body.[8]

Origen (*c.* 185–254 CE) taught the pre-existence of the soul. During the six days of the creation of the world, God created a sufficient number of souls for the entirety of mankind: 'ut tantae sint, quantae a providentia Dei et dispensari et regi et contineri possint' [that they are as many as can be dispensed, ruled and contained by God's providence].[9] Terrestrial life is a punishment and a remedy for prenatal sin. The 'soul' properly speaking is degraded spirit: the flesh is a condition of alienation and bondage.[10] The spirit, however, finite spirit, can exist only in a body, albeit of a glorious and ethereal nature. Origen's doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul was condemned by an edict of Justinian in 543, and at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.

In general, Augustine (354–430 CE) upholds the opposition of body and soul, but against the Manichaeans he asserts the worth and dignity of the body. For Augustine, it is virtually axiomatic that the human soul is both immaterial and immortal. Yet, he most probably regarded the origin of the soul as perhaps beyond our ken, as he never definitely decided between traducianism and creationism. Augustine is important for the centuries to come, not only for his 'positive' psychological views, but maybe even more for his attempts to draw distinctions between orthodox and heterodox views in matters psychological.

In general terms, during the Patristic period the anthropological and psychological conceptions of the Bible were developed into a view that body and soul in man were in a relation of apposition. After the discovery of Aristotelian philosophy, this view was transformed into the Scholastic doctrine of the essential composition of soul and body.

The twelfth- and thirteenth-century translations of Aristotle, Avicenna and Averroes provided new paradigms for philosophical psychology, paradigms that were significantly different from those originating with Augustine or Boethius.[11] Early thirteenth-century psychology was heavily influenced by Avicenna, whose *De anima* blurred the linguistic and conceptual contrasts between Peripatetic and Neoplatonic psychologies.[12] Averroes's position on the material intellect is essentially different from those of earlier commentators. Following Alexander and Avempace in his early works, he started off with a material intellect that is a disposition or preparation of the corporeal forms (not of the body, as Alexander held) and concluded in the Long Commentary on the *De anima*,[13] where both Alexander and Avempace are refuted, with the view of the material intellect as an eternal, unique substance that joins man from without.

The theories of Averroes became known in Catholic Europe during the first decades of the thirteenth century, but they were not immediately understood.[14] In 1256 Pope Alexander IV instructed Albert the Great to investigate Averroes's teaching on the unity of the intellect. In Paris, Siger of Brabant expounded Averroist theories which were attacked by Thomas Aquinas,[15] and in 1270 Etienne Tempier,

Bishop of Paris, condemned several errors arising from Averroist teaching.[16] After 1277, Averroism ceased to be taught in the University of Paris, though it returned again in the fourteenth century and survived in Italy until the Renaissance.

2. The challenge from alternative interpretations and views: Pietro Pomponazzi to Antonio Rocco

In the second half of the fifteenth century many previously unknown classical philosophical works were discovered, translated and published, mainly works by (neo-) Platonic and Hellenistic writers. This rediscovery had its effect on the interpretation of Peripatetic philosophy, as numerous non-Aristotelian doctrines and views found their way into commentaries on Aristotle. During the same period, the invention of printing made the Greek Aristotle available to a large audience of scholars. New philological tools and techniques were developed for interpreting the ancient texts. At the same time, philosophers at northern Italian universities came to highlight the differences between Aristotelian philosophy of mind and theological psychology, as is clear from the controversy about the immortality of the human soul, which developed at the University of Padua.

Psychological speculation during the Italian Renaissance was strongly influenced by the conceptions of past masters. The works of Averroes, Siger of Brabant, and those of John of Jandun and his school weighed heavily on the northern Italian disputes.[17] Most singular in this respect was the position of Averroes. For example, Alessandro Achillini believed that Averroes had given the only genuine interpretation of Aristotle; at the same time, however, he refused to accept his interpretation because it was incompatible with Catholic faith. A major interruption in the history of psychological discussions at Padua was caused by the controversy over the immortality of the human soul, which led to the episcopal and papal condemnations of such heterodox views in 1489 and 1513.[18] These pronouncements did not succeed in restraining philosophical debate altogether, but they did lead to significant changes in the philosophical outlook of many writers. Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo, for example, publicly denounced their earlier view that Averroes was the most authoritative interpreter of Aristotle's psychology. This did not mean that they gave up all (allegedly) Averroistic doctrines.

Already in 1510, Caietanus (Thomas Cajetan) stated in his commentary on the *De anima* that the immortality of the soul cannot be demonstrated with philosophical arguments derived from Aristotle. He proposed instead a demonstration based on Platonic views.[19] The debate following the publication of Pomponazzi's *De immortalitate animae* in 1516 led other authors to a more profound reconsideration of the intrinsic value of Aristotle's philosophy. Crisostomo Javelli, for example, although certainly not adhering to any form of anti-Aristotelianism, came to the conclusion that Aristotle and philosophy were no longer one and the same.[20]

Pomponazzi argued that according to Aristotle's texts, the human intellect depends on the body for its operation;[21] thus, it is mortal, or else only immortal 'secundum quid' [in a certain respect].[22] This position was also endorsed by Girolamo Borri[23] and, as we shall see, by Cesare Cremonini. Therefore, it was quite natural that the discussion of doctrinal deviation in psychology became a central item in many

inquisitorial manuals,[24] and that it was duly recognized in the ecclesiastical *censurae* of the works by Francesco Giorgio and Girolamo Cardano.[25] Furthermore, in the decades following the Council of Trent, the Church vigorously opposed views suggesting a distinction between biblical and philosophical truth.[26]

One strand in Protestant thinking denied the soul's natural immortality, claiming that, according to the Scriptures, the whole individual dies, to be resurrected only at the Last Judgment.[27] However, this position mainly occurred in discussions in Northern Europe, and from the extant documentation it can be deduced that it did not play a role in the proceedings of the Italian bodies of doctrinal control.

Another kind of challenge to orthodox Peripatetic psychology developed in the first half of the seventeenth-century and was linked to a physiological view of the origin of the human soul. Daniel Sennert and Domenico Beccoli argued, with different claims, for a new form of traducianism, while Antonio Rocco defended the immortality of the soul *cum* traducianism.

3. The censorship of early modern philosophical psychology

Early modern psychological heterodoxy was multifaceted and developed on different levels, and thus must be classified under several labels. The extant files of the Roman Inquisition offer a wide range of individual cases, a sample of which can be of some help in establishing a provisional classification:

(1) in 1571 a local Calabrian inquisitor informs Scipione Rebiba, dean of the Roman Holy Office, about an ex-priest that he had arrested, because he held the view that the human soul was composed of air, water and fire.[28]

(2) in 1607 the Inquisitor of Aquileia writes to the central office in Rome about the circulation of manuscript copies of works by Pietro Pomponazzi and Giulio Castellani.

(3) in 1610 the Inquisitor of Ferrara denies the *imprimatur* to a work on the immortality of the soul.

(4) between 1598 and 1627 the Roman Inquisition takes action, without success, against Cesare Cremonini's strictly 'philosophical' interpretation of Aristotle's psychology, which involved believing in the mortality of the human soul.

(5) in the 1640s the Inquisition proceeds against a view held by Domenico Beccoli and a work by Antonio Rocco, because they suggested or openly entertained a physiological origin for the soul.

(6) in 1660, Tommaso Cornelio's view of the soul was associated with atheism.

Thus psychological heterodoxy emerged in speech, treatises and commentaries, and in the reading of forbidden or suspect books and manuscripts. In this section, I will concentrate on the examination of written works by the Inquisition and the Index, in particular the *censurae* of Juan Huarte's *Examen de ingenios* and of the works and views held by Francesco Patrizi, Giordano Bruno and Francesco Giorgio, the proceedings against and/or concerning some commentaries on *De anima*

(Jacopo Zabarella, Johann Havenreuter, and Cesare Cremonini), and, finally, the condemnation of Daniel Sennert, Domenico Beccoli, and Antonio Rocco.

3.1. Huarte's *Examen de ingenios*

Juan Huarte (*c.* 1530–1592) was a Spanish physician and psychologist. His *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (first edition: 1575), though based on the medicine of Galen, was one of the first early modern attempts to show the connection between psychology and physiology. It was prohibited and/or corrected in the Indexes of Portugal (1581) and Spain (1583, 1584). It was also placed on the Roman Indexes of 1590 and 1593, which were not promulgated, although it was not mentioned in Clement VIII's Index of 1596.[29] In 1587 it was examined by Robert Bellarmine, then consultor of the Index.[30] Bellarmine challenged the naturalist explanation of supernatural or particular phenomena, such as prophecy and the (instantaneous) knowledge of foreign languages. He also criticized Huarte's view that intelligence was an organic faculty, dependent upon a cold and dry temperament. Bellarmine considered issuing a conditional prohibition (that is, with the stipulation that it should not be published 'donec corrigatur' [until it is corrected]), but eventually proposed a total ban, because: (1) the passages to be corrected were too many; (2) the book propagated wrong philosophical views (for example, the view of a common instinct in all animals, based on primary qualities); (3) the pedagogical proposals for the education of children were both mean and obscene; and (4) the idea of intelligence as an organic faculty entailed the mortality of the soul.

3.2. Psychology inspired by Neoplatonism

A short note entitled *Sententia spiritus universi*, kept in the Archive of the Index, represents a most illuminating sample of late sixteenth-century Catholic censorship of Neoplatonically inspired psychology.[31] This concise document synthesizes in seven points the psychological doctrine of the *spiritus universi*, formulates a *censura* centered upon the incompatibility of this conception with the Catholic dogma of transubstantiation, and concludes with a *Responsio ad argumentum*, that is, a reply formulated by the author under accusation. Referring to the well-known Virgilian passage beginning 'spiritus intus alit totamque infusa per artus' [an inner spirit nourishes things from within and a mind is infused throughout its limbs] (*Aeneid*, vi. 726–51), the anonymous author develops the view of a universal soul existing 'in toto, et in qualibet parte hujus universi'. This universal principle is also present in men, although subordinated to the rational soul. As a consequence, all things that are 'rationalitatis expertes' [endowed with rationality] can be distinguished only by accidental differences.

The view of a single soul as the origin of all other souls and of the existence of a world soul as a principle of motion is entertained by several Neoplatonic philosophers of the Italian Renaissance, including Marsilio Ficino, Francesco Giorgio, Francesco Patrizi and Giordano Bruno. Censorship of Patrizi's and Giorgio's psychological views is extensively documented in ACDF.

José Esteve, author of the first examination of Giorgio's *In Sacram Scripturam*

Problemata (first edition: Venice, 1536), but written after the 1574 Paris edition, traced in some passages a clear tendency to interpret the creation of human souls in terms of a 'productio' [production], which could be viewed as a 'seminis traductio' [transfer of seed].[32] Consequently, Esteve proposed the suppression of the entire section where Giorgio entertained the idea of the infusion of the individual souls by God, because that implicitly denied their creation in time. The Pisan professor Giacomo Tavanti also analysed Giorgio's psychological views in some detail. He condemned the idea of the creation of the soul before the creation of the body, and referring to earlier criticisms formulated by Sixtus of Siena in his *Bibliotheca Sancta* (1566), Tavanti established a conceptual link with Origen's heresy. Thus, he challenged a passage where the introduction of the soul into the body is discussed, because Giorgio 'omitted' to qualify the former explicitly as 'hominis forma' [the form of man]. Central to his attack on Giorgio's psychology was the latter's interpretation of a famous passage in Genesis, which excluded the notion of any divine act of creation after the work of six days.[33] Thus he vigorously rejected the creation of all souls in one unique act.[34] The creation of the souls 'ante corpora' [before bodies] was also condemned in an anonymous *censura*, which mentioned not only Origen, but also Pythagoras.[35] Another anonymous censor censured Giorgio's stress on the creation of 'omnia simul' [everything at once], as this seriously compromised the idea of the creation of human souls in time.[36]

In his *censura* of Patrizi's *Nova philosophia*, Juan Pedro Saragozza condemned the animation of the heavens and the alleged presence of an intellect in animals. He summarised the errors in Patrizi's psychology under six topics, paying particular attention to the agent intellect as a mediation between God and the individual rational souls, and to the pre-existence of the soul. On the basis of Alfonso de Castro's treatise on heresy, he qualified these views as absurd errors.[37]

Benedetto Giustiniani, a remarkably benevolent censor of Patrizi's work, stated that the latter entertained the idea of the animation of the heavens. Yet he did not classify it as an erroneous view, but rather as a purely philosophical doctrine of Platonic origin. He qualified the creation of human souls through the mediation of the divine mind, and the existence of a unique primordial soul as inappropriate ('impropria'), but he did not consider these views as false ('non tamen aberrat à vero'). Giustiniani condemned the books on mystical philosophy, where he traced the error of Origen, but he held that the author was well aware that it was a false doctrine.[38]

In his replies to the *censurae*, Patrizi defended his psychological views under attack, in particular the unity of all souls and the animation of the celestial bodies. In the Roman redaction of his *Declarationes* (1594), he argues that in the third book of the *Panpsychia*, where he viewed the world soul as the unique origin of all souls, he intended material souls only, that is vegetative and animal souls. This was explicitly confirmed in the *Emendatio* (1592). However, this specification is neither to be found in the *Nova philosophia*, nor in his notes for an emended edition contained in a codex in Parma. Thus, the 'praeter humanum' [except for the human] of the *Emendatio* appears to be just a pious correction.

The *censurae* of the psychologies of Giorgio and Patrizi reveal some characteristics of

the ecclesiastical censorship of heterodox psychologies. Giorgio's and Patrizi's works were not totally banned, but placed on the Index with the temporary stipulation 'donec corrigatur'. Indeed, Rule VIII of the Tridentine Index had introduced expurgation, which concerned those heretical or suspect statements in books which occurred occasionally (*obiter*), and this suggested that they could be easily isolated. And indeed, as long as only names or clearly distinct passages were to be eliminated, things were relatively simple.[39] The situation became quite complicated when the book was placed on the Index because the author put forth views in open or veiled conflict with Catholic doctrine, and in particular when the censor had to tackle erroneous propositions that were intimately rooted in complex theoretical systems. Indeed Giorgio's and Patrizi's works did not directly contradict Catholic doctrine, but they certainly contained many potentially pernicious views.[40]

In the case of Giordano Bruno, little is known about the charges that concerned his psychology, but the passages about the universal spirit in the summary of his trial reveal that his censors discussed his psychological views. However, as in the *censurae* of Giorgio and Patrizi, they did not explicitly reject his psychological universalism, but rather his deviation from the canonical definition of the soul as a form of the body, that is, his entertaining the Platonic view of the soul as 'nauta navis' [the helmsman of the ship].[41]

It should be borne in mind that not even in the manuals of Eymerich and de Castro was the universal soul counted among the psychological deviations.[42] Therefore, the aforementioned *Sententia spiritus universi* presents a new aspect of the conceptual framework underlying the ecclesiastical censorship of Renaissance psychology. It did not formulate a generic condemnation of the position under attack, but it shows that a universalist psychology contradicts a central dogma of the church, thus revealing explicitly the dangerous potential of such a conceptual structure.

3.3. Commentaries and views on Aristotle's *De anima*

In 1601 the heirs of Jacopo Zabarella (1533–1589) asked the Congregation of the Index for permission to publish his *De anima* commentary. On 21 June the Congregation commissioned an examination of the work from Alfonso Soto, professor of theology in the University of Padua,[43] and in a letter of 28 July, Agostino Valier, dean of the Congregation, asked Soto to pay particular attention to the passages where Zabarella proved with Aristotle the mortality of the soul:

> My illustrious Lords of the Congregation of the Index seriously consider you in your proper worth by commissioning from you the assessment of Zabarella's commentaries on the soul, and especially those passages where with Aristotle he proves the mortality of the soul. And you should attempt to adjust these in such a way that they not only put forth the truth which one must accept through faith and with good philosophy, but you should refute and dissolve these very arguments, which he takes from Aristotle's text. All these adjusted passages you should send in a note in order that, once these are approved, the book can be licensed for the press.[44]

Soto, however, although grateful to the Congregation for their trust, was convinced

that this task was beyond his capabilities, as it would require an almost complete rewriting of Zabarella's work. And thus he proposed on 25 August simply to add to the edition a short list of views to be corrected:

> And thus I infinitely do thank Your Illustrious Lordship together with all the illustrious gentlemen, your colleagues and my lords, that they have a good opinion of me, in having judged me suitable for this work. But in truth, I find many difficulties, both for my part and for that of the heirs of Zabarella. For my part, because not only am I asked to see the passages that are contrary to the truth and good philosophy, but I am presumed to prove the immortality from those very passages that he [*sc.* Zabarella] uses to demonstrate the mortality [of the soul], by refuting and solving his arguments. This is an immense effort, considering that I have abandoned now for many years intensive research and fresh study of philosophical problems, as I have been occupied in the issues of my profession, as befits old age. Indeed, I am now sixty-seven years old. In addition, this work which points at highlighting issues, requires a free person and not one constrained as I am. From the point of view of Zabarella's heirs, there is a difficulty, because they would like to see the commentaries of their father in print, and not mine. Because if things were done as your Illustrious Lordship commands, then my commentaries will be needed, rather than those of Zabarella, as his entire work would have to be turned upside down, providing different interpretations, using different reasonings, and laying down different bases. But if the job consisted of noting only the places repugnant to the truth, this is something that could be done by many persons, and Zabarella's heirs would be satisfied with it, as long as the interpretation and order of the text are not altered.[45]

On 29 September Agostino Valier asked the Venetian Inquisitor for further information,[46] but most probably no further proceedings developed. The work was published in 1606 by the well-known Frankfurt publisher Lazarus Zetzner and subsequently it was not prohibited in any known Index.

In 1612, another *De anima* commentary, written by Johann Havenreuter (1548–1618) and published in 1605,[47] drew the attention of the Index. On 24 January a first examination was commissioned from the Regular Cleric Raffaele Rastelli, who presented his *censura* after only four days.[48] In a succinct note Rastelli stated that this commentary contained propositions that 'smelled' of paganism, and that it attributed views about God to Aristotle that he actually never held. Next, he highlighted the fact that Havenreuter entertained the view that the human mind is potentially contained in the male seed, which he proved with Aristotle's works, rational arguments, and passages from Holy Scripture, thus implicitly contradicting Thomas Aquinas and his commentator Cajetan.[49] At the end of 1612, this commentary was also reviewed by Blasio Aloisio, who again challenged the idea of the origin of the rational soul from matter, and who defined this view as the heresy of the 'Luciferiani', also held by Tertullian and Apollinaris, as testified by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas.[50] Finally, after eight years, the *censura* of the book was commissioned from Stefano del Bufalo, who was also involved in the case against Cremonini, but his examination is not preserved in the archive of the Index.[51]

An Inquisition decree of 1598 attests the start of proceedings against Cesare Cremonini (1550–1631), a famous Paduan professor, focusing upon his heterodox inter-

pretation of Aristotle's psychological texts 'ad mentem Alexandri Afrodisei' [according to the interpretation of Alexander of Aphrodisias].[52] In the following century, the investigations also involved his interpretation of Aristotle's cosmology.[53]

On 13 May 1604 the Roman Holy Office discussed Camillo Belloni's accusation against Cremonini. From the following documents it can be deduced that one of the main charges against Cremonini concerned his 'philosophical' interpretation of Aristotle's psychology.[54] And a couple of years later, the Inquisition discovered that Cremonini's students were spreading to other towns in Italy:

> The letters of the Inquisitor at Aquileia, dated Udine 14 May, were read; he points out that at the house of a physician in Venzoni many manuscripts had been discovered containing works against the immortality of the soul written by Pomponazzi, Castellani, and others, which he asserts were published in Padua by Paolo Meietii bookseller. And he further informs us that the disciples of doctor Cremonini eagerly disseminate this opinion. Whereupon the most illustrious Lords ordained to reply to the Inquisitor that he should carefully interrogate the afore-named physician, from whom, and when he purchased the above-mentioned writtings, and who is the author, and that he should send a copy of them.[55]

Cremonini's interpretation of Aristotelian psychology and cosmology triggered life-long proceedings by the Roman Inquisition. In 1614, he was accused of believing in the mortality of the soul by Paolo Andrea d'Auria from Genoa, who for this very reason was condemned to a formal abjuration on 22 May of that year.[56] In September of the same year, the accusation was formalized under three headings: the eternity of the heavens, the mortality of the soul, and the view of God as merely a final cause.[57] Cremonini promised again and again to correct his views, but the cardinals of the Holy Office slowly became aware that in effect Cremonini was mocking them. And indeed, when he finally published his *Apologia* in 1616, the Holy Office discovered after three years that he had not corrected his errors but merely re-affirmed them.[58] Cremonini repeatedly claimed he was offering a free interpretation of Aristotle, stressing the fact that he was not a theologian, but a philosopher, thus implicitly claiming that he was supposed to present faithful interpretations of the Greek philosopher.[59] From 1619 the Holy Office openly threatened him, but in 1623 the Cardinals finally lost their temper and prohibited Cremonini's *De coelo*, at first 'donec corrigatur', but then unconditionally.[60] Cremonini, however, openly declared that he did not care about this prohibition. Indeed, during all these years the local ecclesiastical authorities duly obeyed the orders from Rome, but as the political authorities did not permit his extradition, there was no concrete sanction or consequence for his social status or career. Five years after his death, a group of *qualificatores* of the Holy Office established that his works contained not only erroneous, but also absolutely heretical propositions, in particular his denial of God's omniscience, and the rational soul's separability from the body.[61]

3.4. Psychology and physiology

This section discusses the censorship of some seventeenth-century psychological treatises that advanced unorthodox views on the origin of the human soul.

3.4.1. Sennert's *Hypomnemata*

Daniel Sennert (1572–1637) is notable for his contributions to the development of an early version of atomic theory. Sennert represented an intermediate step between corpuscular particle theory and Aristotelian forms of it. The same works that are often cited as demonstrating his early atomist views also emphasize the importance of substantial forms.

Reginaldo Lucarini's *censura* of Sennert's *Hypomnemata physica* (1636),[62] commissioned by the Congregation of the Index, is almost entirely devoted to the fourth *Hypomnema*,[63] where the origin of the human soul is discussed. Sennert argued that the rational soul is not created but propagated through the seed.[64] Sennert thus explicitly challenged Thomas Aquinas's arguments against the physiological origin of the human soul in his *Summa theologiae*,[65] defining them as 'meras evasiones' [mere evasions].[66] By contrast, Lucarini appeals to Holy Writ, the Church Fathers (in particular Augustine and Jerome), and to other works by Thomas Aquinas.[67]

In addition, he explicitly challenges Sennert's references to some biblical passages, namely, Genesis 46. 26: 'cunctae animae quae ingressae sunt cum Iacob in Aegyptum et egressae de femore illius' [All the souls that went with Jacob into Egypt, and that came out of his thigh]; and Exodus 1. 5: 'erant igitur omnes animae eorum qui egressi sunt de femore Iacob' [And all the souls that came out of Jacob's thigh]. Sennert also misinterpreted Genesis 2. 3: 'quia in ipso cessaverat ab omni opere suo quod creavit Deus' [because in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made], because from this quote he concluded that subsequently God only created new entities through miracles. Furthermore, Sennert wrongly claimed that all creatures are mortal. The former view was Origen's heresy, condemned in several Councils (as we saw above), while the latter was censured in the Fifth Lateran Council.

Furthermore, Sennert argued that, as the soul does not subsist in the body, it cannot be created in the generation of man. According to Lucarini, Sennert deduced from a true premiss an erroneous and highly 'audacious' proposition. Finally, Sennert thought that it could not be held that the immortality of the soul was a 'natural' condition, rather it should be seen as a gift depending upon God's free will.[68] Now, this is a manifest heresy, also known as that of the Sadducees.[69]

On the basis of this *censura*, the Congregation prohibited Sennert's *Hypomnemata* on 12 May 1639 with the stipulation 'donec corrigatur'.[70]

3.4.2. Beccoli on the propagation of the soul

On 8 January 1642 Domenico Beccoli (1613–1650),[71] a monk in the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, was ordered by the cardinals of the Holy Office to appear before them in Rome, because he had been denounced by the Inquisitor of Gubbio

in a letter dated 30 December 1641. From the outset his case was connected with the views of Sennert.[72] After only one week, on 15 January 1642, the Holy Office wrote to the Inquisitor of Perugia, saying that he had taken the right decision in not permitting the printing of the 'conclusiones' by Domenico Beccoli, who was again invited to come to Rome.[73] From the Inquisition decree of 29 January 1642, the content of the contested 'conclusiones' can be deduced:

> and ultimately, about the proposition 'It is probable that the rational soul is not brought forth by God, but propagated by the generation of living things in virtue of God's blessing "Be fruitful, and multiply".'[74]

The Cardinals decided to submit the proposition concerning the origin of the soul, which clearly echoed Sennert's view, to the consultors of the Holy Office, who presented their verdicts at the meeting of 5 February. Fortunately, these verdicts survive in the archive of the Congregation and offer a most illuminating example of the wide range of definitions available to its members for labelling suspect or heretical views:

> The Holy Congregation of our Lords Consultants was held in the Palace of the Holy Office, and a proposition on the propagation of the human soul was proposed and examined namely:
>
> It is probable that the rational soul is not produced by God through creation, but propagated through the generation of living things in virtue of God's blessing 'Be fruitful, and multiply', and just as the tree produces a tree, so man a man, and therefore the seed is animated like the fruit of a living being, and that it is like a vehicle, as it were, through which the soul is transmitted to the offspring.
>
> According to the Father Fellow [of the Commissioner] the proposition was not heretical in all its parts.
>
> According to Father Ubaldini, as to its first part, namely that the soul is not created by God, the proposition is erroneous and close to heresy; as to its second part, including the remaining clauses, it is formally heretical.
>
> Father Accarisi thought that the proposition that the soul is not created but receives being through propagation was erroneous, and probably heretical.
>
> Abbot Papirio judged that the proposition was close to heresy and erroneous in faith.
>
> Father Master Candidi judged that the proposition, about the creation of the soul, was audacious, false, erroneous, and heretical, and that the second part was liable to a similar censure.
>
> Tommaso D'Afflitto judged that the proposition was audacious, false, and erroneous, but not heretical.
>
> Father Lucas Wadding held that the proposition was erroneous, futile, suspect in faith, dangerous, and pernicious to the Christian commonwealth.
>
> Father Terentius judged the proposition to be heretical (regardless of the clause about the animated seed).
>
> Father Campanella, Procurator of the Order of the Carmelites, judged that as far as the parts which are subject to the Constitution of Theology were concerned, the proposition was manifestly heretical, and that in the rest it contained errors in philosophy.
>
> The Consultor of Friars Minor Conventual judged that, in supposing the soul is produced from pre-existing matter, the proposition was erroneous, but if it intends the exclusion of a particular action of God, it is heretical.

> The Procurator of the Order of St Augustine held the proposition to be formally heretical from a theological point of view.
>
> Abbot Ilario was of the opinion that the proposition was completely heretical.
>
> Oreggi qualified the proposition as heretical rather than erroneous.
>
> The Commissioner [of the Holy Office] held the proposition to be heretical and already condemned in the Lateran Council held under Leo X.
>
> The Master of the Sacred Palace judged the proposition to be completely heretical, and condemned in the Lateran Council.
>
> The General of the Order of the Friars Preachers held that the proposition was erroneous with all other inferior censures.[75]

Thus, eight of the consultors labelled Beccoli's view as either formally heretical or else completely or plainly ('*omnino*', '*manifeste*') heretical. The other consultors expressed their opinion with different shades of doubt or caution, using codified definitions, such as erroneous, pernicious, dangerous, false, audacious.[76] Surprisingly, in the end, the Cardinals decided to define the proposition as merely erroneous, and condemned its author to a formal retraction.[77]

3.4.3. Antonio Rocco: immortality *cum* traducianism

The case of Antonio Rocco's (1586–1652) work on the soul is similar to Beccoli's and develops shortly afterwards. On 7 December 1644 the Holy Office decided to submit the Frankfurt edition of his work,[78] which was sent in by the Inquisitor of Venice on 19 November 1644, to the Congregation of the Index.[79]After this, the work was examined by Agostino Ubaldini, who wrote an extensive *censura*, which was read during the meeting of 20 May 1645,[80] and on the basis of which the Cardinals of the Inquisition decided to prohibit this work.[81] Let us try to summarize this examination, which presents a detailed confutation of Rocco's views.

At the outset of his *censura* Ubaldini states that the author's intention to uphold the immortality of the soul together with its propagation through seed reveals his ignorance and contradictions. That the rational soul is not created by God was defined in February 1642 by some theologians of the Holy Office as heretical.[82] Indeed, it plainly contradicts the doctrine found in Genesis, decrees passed in Councils (among which the Lateran Council under Innocent III), and the works of Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel Prateolus, and Augustine.[83] The view that the soul's generation does not contradict its immortality is seen as 'erronea in bona philosophia' [erroneous as far as correct philosophy is concerned].[84] Rocco's conviction that the Church Councils only intended to define the soul's immortality, and not its generation or creation, was defined as 'temeraria, et periculosa in fide' [rash, and dangerous in terms of faith], whereas entertaining the idea that God never revealed the human soul as 'ingenerabilem, sive ingenitam' [ungenerated, or unbegotten] was judged very close to heresy.[85]

Next, the censor discusses a crucial point in Rocco's argumentation: 'Si anima nostra crearetur, non contraheremus peccatum originale ex semine Adae' [If our soul were created, we would not contract original sin from the seed of Adam]. As a matter of fact, Rocco's appeal to Augustine's traducianism does not take into due account the context of Augustine's theorizing, that is, his polemics with

Pelagius who simply denied the transmission of original sin.[86] Elsewhere, his use of Augustine's works and views is also criticized. Furthermore, the animation of the seed is heretical, and the divisibility of the soul is seen as a 'propositio absurdissima' [most absurd proposition].[87]

Finally, Rocco's view that the rational soul is mortal according to the principles of Aristotle contradicts the Fifth Lateran Council under Leo X, and Rocco's conclusion that its immortality is to be viewed as 'ab externo tantum' [something solely external] was defined as 'temeraria, periculosa, sapiens haeresim' [rash, dangerous, bordering on heresy].[88] Ubaldini's final conclusion is worth quoting:

> On page 183, the author warns the reader that without any hesitation he holds the immortality of the soul as utterly undoubted and immutable, whether it be by means of an opinion, whether it be by faith, whether it be by agreement, or by imagination, or in a dream. This proposition alone, in my opinion, would suffice to make a decision as to the doctrine and the intention of this book, as the author makes the certainty of the immortality of the soul dependent on the very opinion and agreement of anyone, and indeed on imagination and dreams, rather than on faith. And again he equates the immovable firmness of Catholic faith with the inconstancy of the imagination, and evanescence of dreams. And I do not know whether in this case anything more wicked and blasphemous can be babbled or imagined.[89]

As mentioned earlier, on the basis of these condemnations Rocco's work was unconditionally banned at the meeting of 20 May 1645.

4. Sanctions

Psychological heterodoxy developed under several guises, and it was analysed, labelled and evaluated by the bodies of doctrinal control with a wide range of qualifications. As a consequence, trials and examinations ended up with different outcomes and a range of sanctions. Index proceedings dealt with books and manuscripts (often by authors who were already dead), and as a rule had a rather limited number of possible outcomes. The text could be prohibited, totally or conditionally, or the Congregation could simply decide to do nothing at all. Thus, the *censurae* of Giorgio, Patrizi and Cremonini led to the prohibition of their works, while the doubts about and the examinations of Zabarella's and Havenreuter's *De anima* commentaries did not force the Congregation into any formal ban or decision. Huarte's *Examen* was at first prohibited, but in 1596 his work was removed from the Index.

By contrast, the proceedings of the Holy Office show a rich and extremely variegated spectrum of views, examinations, and sanctions regarding matters psychological. When the heresy or heterodoxy was professed only in speech, it could be confessed and thus absolved 'in foro conscientiae' [in the tribunal of private conscience], possibly preceded by a verbal abjuration.[90] Sometimes, when only vague doubts were at stake, the defendant asked explicitly to be absolved in this way.[91] As a rule, it was granted on the condition that possible accomplices were denounced.[92]

Public teaching and the publishing of printed works compounded conflicts and

sanctions. Domenico Beccoli planned to publish some theological '*conclusiones*', among which one, regarding the origin of the human soul, was clearly inspired by Sennert's work. His manuscript was examined by sixteen consultors of the Holy Office, and eventually the incriminated view was judged erroneous and the author condemned to recant his views. However, the pronouncements by the officials covered a wide range of heterodoxy, and only half of them agreed on the heretical character of Beccoli's view.

Antonio Rocco's case was transferred from the Holy Office to the Index. One of the latter's consultors wrote an extensive *censura*, which led the Congregation to prohibit the book unconditionally.

Of course the spread of Cartesianism and atomism in the second half of the seventeenth century would later lead the Roman bodies of doctrinal control to further investigations into heterodox philosophical psychology, but that is another story.

Appendix

Passage 1 (see n. 44)

Considerano questi miei Illustrissimi signori della congregazione del Indice nel valor suo in darli pensiero da rivedere li comentarij del Zabarella, sopra l'anima, et in particolare piu luoghi, dove con Aristotele pruova la mortalita dell'anima, pruovando accomodarli in maniera, che non solo si ponga la verita di quello, che si deve tenere per fede, et con la buona philosofia, ma ributando, et sciogliendo anco l'istessi argumenti, che dal testo di Aristotele raccoglie, et di tutti questi luoghi accomodati ne mandarà nota accio appruovandosi si permetta che il libro si stampi con che fine alle sue.

Passage 2 (see n. 45)

Onde infinitamente ringratio Vostra Signoria Illustrissima insieme con tutti l'Illustrissimi signori suoi colleghi miei signori della buona opinione c'hanno di me, d'havermi giudicato atto a tale opera ma invero, ci trovo molte difficoltà, e dal canto mio, e da quello dei figlioli del Zabarella. Dal canto mio, perché non solo mi si comanda, ch'io vegga i luoghi, che son contrarij alla verità, e buona filosofia, ma che debba fare, che di dove esso cava la mortalità, ch'io ne cavi l'immortalità, con ribattere, e sciogliere i suoi argomenti; questa è fatica d'importanza, atteso che ricerca grande, e fresco studio delle cose di filosofia, le quali molti anni sono, da me sono state tralasciate, e son stato occupato nelle cose della mia professione, secondo, che s'è convenuto all'età senile, et al punto sono di anni 67. Inoltre di ciò quest'opera, dovendosi mettere in luce, ricerca una persona libera e non una obligata come son'io. Dal lato de' figlioli del Zabarella vi è difficultà, perché essi vorrebbeno, che fossiro stampati i commentarij del loro padre, e non i miei, perché se s'ha da fare tutto quello, che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima comanda, i comentarij, si domanderanno più tosto miei che suoi, perché bisognerà mettere tutta l'opera sotto sopra, con dar diverse interpretationi, e far diversa concatenatione, e porre diversi fondamenti. Ma se il negotio consistesse in notare solamente i luoghi repugnanti alla verità, quest'è cosa che si potrebbe fare da molti, et essi figlioli del Zabarella se ne contentarebbono, pur che non fusse alterata l'interpretatione, e connessione del testo.

Passage 3 (see n. 55)

Lectis literis Inquisitoris Aquilegiae datis Utini die 14[a] huius in quibus significat penes quendam Medicum loci Venzoni reperisse multa manuscripta contra immortalitatem animae Pomponatij, Castellani, et aliorum, quae asserit [emisse] Paduae a Paulo Meietii Bibliopola, ac discipulos Doctoris Cremonini [avide] disseminare hanc opinionem, Illustrissimi domini ordinaverunt rescribendum esse Inquisitori ut diligenter examinet praedictum Medicum, a quo, quando emerit praedicta scripta, et cuius autoris sint, et mittat illorum copiam.

Passage 4 (see n. 75)

Habita S. Congregatio DD. Qualificatorum in Palatio S. Officij, in qua proposita et examinata propositione quondam animae humanae propagationem videlicet:

Probabile est animam rationalem non produci à Deo per creationem sed propagari per generationem viventium ex vi benedictionis Dei Crescite et multiplicamini et sicut arbor arborem producit, ita homo hominem, ac proinde semen esse animatum inclusi fructus viventis, et se habere veluti vehiculum per quod traducitur anima in sobolem.

Pater socius fuit in voto propositionem non omnes sui partes esse haereticam.

P. Ubaldinus fuit in voto propositionem quo ad primam partem seu non creari à Deo esse erroneam, et proximam haeresi, quo ad 2.[am] partem quae claudit reliquas omnes clausulas esse formaliter haereticam.

P. Accarisius putabat propositionem esse quo ad illam partem non creari sed habere esse per propagationem erroneam, et probabiliter haereticam.

D. Abbas Papirius censuit propositionem esse proximam haeresi et erroneam in fide.

P. Magister Candidus censuit propositionem quo ad creationem esse temerariam, falsam, erroneam, et haereticam, 2.[am] partem eadem prorsus censura notavit.

D. Thomas Afflictus censuit propositionem esse temerariam, falsam, erroneam non tamen haereticam.

P. Lucas Wadingus censerat propositionem esse erroneam, vanam, suspectam in fide, periculosam, et perniciosam reipublicae christianae.

P. Terentius censuit (detracta clausula de semine animato) propositionem esse haereticam.

P. Campanella Procurator Ordinis Carmelitarum censuit propositionem quo ad omnes partes quae subduntur Constitutioni Theologiae esse manifeste haereticam, in reliquis errores continet in philosophia.

P. Consultor Minorum Conventualium censuit propositionem si [...] quod anima producatur ex praeexistenti materia esse erroneam, si vero intelligitur exclusa actioni particulari Dei esse haereticam.

P. Procurator Ordinis S. Augustini censuit propositionem theologice inspectam esse formaliter haereticam.

P. Abbas Hilarius censuit propositionem esse omnino haereticam.

D. Oregius censuit propositionem potius haereticam quam erroneam.

P. Commissarius censuit propositionem esse haereticam et iam in Concilio Lateranensi damnatam sub Leone X.°

P. Magister S. Palatij censuit propositionem esse omnino haereticam et in Concilio Lateranensi damnatam.

P. generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum fuit in voto propositionem esse erroneam cum omnibus caeteris inferioribus censuris.

Passage 5 (n. 89)

Pagina 183. Auctor monet lectorem, ut absque haesitatione ulla tenat immortalitatem animae, tanquam certissimam, et immutabilem, sive per opinionem, sive per fidem, sive per placitum, sive per imaginationem, sive per somnium.

Haec sola Propositio, meo iudicio, sufficeret, ad decernandum de doctrina, et mente in hoc libro, dum certitudinem immortalitatis animae nostrae facit dependentem non minus à propria uniuscuiusque opinione, et placito, imò et ab imaginatione, et somnio, quam à fide. Et rursum fidei Catholicae immobilem firmitatem aequiparat inconstantiae imaginationis, et lenitati somnij, quibus nescio an aliquid magis impium, et blasphemum hac in re effutiri possit, et excogitari.

Notes to Chapter 13

1. Remarkably, in the early censorship of modern philosophy — in particular Descartes, Hobbes and their followers — psychological issues played a marginal role. For assessments, see Marta Fattori, 'Altri documenti inediti dell'Archivio del Sant'Uffizio sulla censura del *De augmentis scientiarum* di Francis Bacon', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 21 (2001), 121–30; Jean-Robert Armogathe, 'Cartesian physics and the Eucharist in the documents of the Holy Office and the Roman Index (1671–76)', in *Receptions of Descartes. Cartesianism and Anticartesianism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Tad M. Schmaltz (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 149–70; Id., 'Physique cartésienne et eucharistie dans les documents du Saint-Office et de l'Index romain (1671–1676)', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 25 (2005), 7–24. Most documents discussed below are in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (from now on ACDF), where the historical archives of the Inquisition and Index are kept.
2. Konrad Eubel, *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum*, 7 vols (Rome: Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, 1759–1904), V (1898), 86.
3. 'Insuper omnibus et singulis philosophis in universitatibus studiorum generalium et alibi publice legentibus districte praecipiendo mandamus, ut quum philosophorum principia aut conclusiones in quibus a recta fide deviare noscuntur, auditoribus suis legerint seu explicaverint quale hoc est de animae mortalitate aut unitate et mundi aeternitate, ac alia huiusmodi, teneantur eisdem veritatem religionis christianae omni conatu manifestam facere et persuadendo pro posse docere, ac omni studio huiusmodi philosophorum argumenta, quum omnia solubilia existant, pro viribus excludere atque resolvere.' See *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. by Giuseppe Alberigo and others (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973), pp. 605–06. This papal Bull was also published by Francisco Peña in his edition of Eymeric's *Directorium inquisitorum*, a seminal document in the development of inquisitorial legislation; see Nicolaus Eymeric, *Directorium inquisitorum r.p.f. Nicolai Eymerici denuo ex collatione plurium exemplarium emendatum ... Cum scholiis seu annotationibus eruditissimis Francisci Pegnae* (Rome: Stamperia del Popolo Romano, 1578), pp. 53–54.
4. See Ugo Baldini and Leen Spruit, *Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Roman Archives of the Holy Office and the Index*, vol. I: *The Sixteenth Century*, 4 tomes (Rome: Liberia Editrice Vaticana, 2009), I: *Introduction*, section 2.5.
5. Nicolaus Eymeric, *Directorium Inquisitorum cum commentariis Francisci Peniae ... in hac postrema editione iterum emendatum et auctum, et multis litteris Apostolicis locupletatum* (Venice: Marcantonio Zalteri, 1595), pp. 238–39.
6. Alfonso de Castro, *Adversus omnes haereses libri quatuordecim. Opus nunc denuo ab auctore ipso recognitum est* (Lyons: Michel Dubois for Jean Frellon, 1555), fols 99^{r}-112^{v}.
7. Tertullian, *De anima*, ch. 4; cf. 9. 7.
8. Tertullian, *De anima*, ch. 22. 6 and 27.
9. Origen, *De principiis*, II. 8. 8: see Origenes, *De principiis libri IV*, ed. by Herwig Görgemanns and Heinrich Karpp (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), p. 400.
10. Origen, *Commentary on Romans*, 1. 18.
11. Moreover, after the translation of Avicenna's works, psychology would be more clearly

distinguished from ethics; cf. Pierre Michaud-Quantin, 'La psychologie dans l'enseignement au XIIe siècle', in *L'Homme et son destin, d'après les penseurs du Moyen Age* (Louvain: Nauwalaerts, 1960), pp. 407–15 (p. 412).

12. Neoplatonic commentaries already emphasized Aristotle's alleged belief in the immortality of the soul, unwittingly providing him with a patent of acceptability for Christianity.
13. A modern edition of the surviving Latin text is in *Averrois Cordubensis Commentarium Magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*, ed. by F. Stuart Crawford (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953). For further discussion, see Alain de Libera, 'Existe-t-il une noétique "averroiste"?', in *Averroismus im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, ed. by Friedrich Niewöhner and Loris Sturlese (Zurich: Spur, 1994), pp. 51–80; R.C. Taylor, 'Improving on nature's exemplar: Averroes's completion of Aristotle's psychology of intellect', in *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, ed. by Peter Adamson, Han Baltussen and M.W.F. Stone, 2 vols (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Studies, University of London, 2004), II, 107–30; Id., 'The agent intellect as "form for us" and Averroes's critique of al-Farabi', *Proceedings of the Society for Medieval Logic and Metaphysics*, 5 (2005), 18–32.
14. It should be noted that during the period of the so-called 'first Averroism', Averroes's *De anima* commentary was not interpreted as defending the uniqueness of the human intellect; cf. René Antoine Gauthier, 'Notes sur les débuts (1225–1240) du premier "averroïsme" ', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 66 (1982), 321–74.
15. Edward P. Mahoney, 'Saint Thomas and Siger of Brabant revisited', *Review of Metaphysics*, 27 (1973–74), 531–53; Bernardo C. Bazàn, 'La dialogue philosophique entre Siger de Brabant et Thomas d'Aquin', *Revue philosophique de Louvain*, 72 (1974), 53–155.
16. Roland Hissette, *Enquête sur les 219 articles condannés à Paris le 7 mars 1277* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires; Paris: Vander-Oyez, 1977); Id., 'Etienne Tempier et ses condamnations', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 47 (1980), 231–70; Luca Bianchi, *Il vescovo e i filosofi: la condanna parigina del 1277 e l'evoluzione dell'aristotelismo scolastico* (Bergamo: Lubrina-LEB, 1990).
17. Bruno Nardi, *Studi su Pietro Pomponazzi* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1965), p. 105, remarks that Jandun's authority equalled that of Averroes. For Siger in the Italian Renaissance, see Id., *Sigieri di Brabante nel pensiero del rinascimento italiano* (Rome: Edizioni Italiane, 1945); Id., *Saggi sull'aristotelismo padovano dal secolo XIV al XVI* (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), pp. 313–19; and for a critical assessment, cf. Agostino Nifo, *De intellectu*, ed. by Leen Spruit (Leiden: Brill, 2011), Introduction, pp. 18–24.
18. For Bishop Pietro Barozzi's edict and the condemnation of the doctrines of Alexander and Averroes by the Pope in 1513, see Etienne Gilson, 'L'affaire de l'immortalité de l'âme à Venise au début du XVIe siècle', in Vittore Branca, *Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano* (Florence: Sansoni, 1960), pp. 31–61.
19. See Gilson, 'L'affaire de l'immortalité de l'âme', pp. 41–42.
20. 'Philosophia Aristotelis et philosophia ut philosophia non convertuntur', cited in Gilson, 'L'affaire de l'immortalité de l'âme', pp. 51–52.
21. At the end of the fifteenth century, this position was also endorsed by Nicoletto Vernia, who later recanted. See Edward P. Mahoney, 'Nicoletto Vernia and Agostino Nifo on Alexander of Aphrodisias: An unnoticed dispute', *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, 23 (1968), 268–96.
22. Pietro Pomponazzi, *Tractatus de immortalitate animae*, ed. Gianfranco Morra (Bologna: Nanni & Fiammenghi, 1954), chs. X-XII.
23. See Baldini and Spruit, *Catholic Church and Modern Science*, I, 816–17.
24. See De Castro, *Adversus omnes haereses libri quatuordecim*, fols 99[r]-112[v] and Eymeric, *Directorium Inquisitorum cum commentariis Francisci Peniae*, pp. 238–39.
25. See *infra*, pp. 223–25.
26. See the letter by the Holy Office to a peripheral Inquisitor (dated 13 February 1593) regarding an anonymous professor of philosophy, in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (ACDF), Sanctum Officium, *Stanza Storica*, Q.3.d, fol. 487[r]: '[...] crede, che la verità contenuta nella vera filosofia sia contraria alla Verità [...] della Sacra Scrittura, con altre interrogationi, che a lei pareranno necessarie, et opportune; et restando nelle stesse risposte fatte altre volte, V. R.[za] espedirà la sua causa, sospendendolo dalla lettura, et esercitio d'insegnare per spatio di tre anni, ma sopravenendo altro, et havendo qualche dubio, ne darà avviso.'

27. This was the position of the so-called Psychopannychists; see Norman T. Burns, *Christian Mortalism from Tyndale to Milton* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).
28. ACDF, St. St., LL.3.c, 426^{r-v}.
29. *Index des livres interdits*, ed. Jésus Martínez de Bujanda and others, 10 vols (Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, Université de Sherbrooke; Geneva: Droz, 1980–1996), IX, 229 (henceforth *ILI* with volume and page number).
30. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, H (II.a.7), fol. 319^{r-v}; this *censura* was read at the meeting of 19 November 1587 (see *Diari*, 1, fol. 28^{v}), and it is published in Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor. Robert Bellarmine Between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 243–44.
31. In ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, V (II.a.19), fol. 356^{r-v}. For discussion, see Leen Spruit, '*Spiritus universi*. Censura ecclesiastica e psicologia rinascimentale a proposito di un documento inedito dall'archivio del Sant'Uffizio romano', in *La mente di Giordano Bruno*, ed. by Fabrizio Meroi (Florence: Olschki, 2004), pp. 259–88.
32. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, AA (II.a.23), fols 799^{r}-806^{r} (fols 803^{r} and 806^{r}).
33. Genesis 2. 1–3.
34. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, N (II.a.12), fols 517^{r}-524^{v} (fols 517^{v}, 522^{r} and 523^{v}).
35. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, AA (II.a.23), fols 733^{r}-752^{r} (fols 736^{v}-737^{r}, 738^{v} and 739^{r}).
36. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, AA (II.a.23), fols 765^{r}-776^{r} (fols 769^{r-v}).
37. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, M (II.a.11), fols 129^{r}-145^{r} (fols 139^{v}-140^{r}, 141^{r} and 142^{v}-43^{r}).
38. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, M (II.a.11), fols 148^{r}-151^{v} (fols 149^{r}, 149^{v} and 151^{v}).
39. In 1587, Vincenzo Bonardi composed a *Modus et ratio expurgandi vel corrigendi libros*; the text is in ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, M (II.a.10), fols 124^{r}-125^{r}. See also ACDF, Index, *Diari*, 1, fol. 20^{v}. Comments by Ruggiero, Peña, Allen, Morin, and an anonymous author are in ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, B (II.a.2), fols 528^{r}-537^{v}. On 8 October 1594, Marcantonio Colonna handed over to his censors a printed *Instructio pro expurgatione et impressione librorum*; cf. ACDF, Index, *Diari*, 1, fol. 81^{r}. This text was probably the basis for the *Instructio* printed in Clement VIII's Index (*ILI*, IX, 859–62).
40. For discussion of Giorgio, see also Antonio Rotondò, 'Cultura umanistica e difficoltà di censori. Censura ecclesiastica e discussioni cinquecentesche sul Platonismo', in *Le Pouvoir et la plume. Imitation, contrôle et repression dans l'Italie du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1982), pp. 14–50 (pp. 18–33).
41. See Luigi Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, ed. Diego Quaglioni (Rome: Salerno, 1993), p. 324 (Inquisition decree of 24 August 1599).
42. See, for example, De Castro, *Adversus omnes haereses libri quatuordecim*, fols 99^{r}-112^{v}.
43. ACDF, Index, *Diari*, 1, fol. 148^{r}.
44. ACDF, Index, V, fol. 142^{r}. For the original text of the longer passages quoted, see Appendix.
45. ACDF, Index, III.7, fol. 376^{r-v}.
46. ACDF, Index, V, fols 142^{v}-143^{r}.
47. Johann Havenreuter, *Commentarii in Aristotelis de anima & parva naturalia dictos libros* (Frankfurt: Zacharias Palthenius, 1605).
48. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, G (II.a.6), fol. 45^{r}; another copy is in ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, S (II.a.17), fol. 45^{r}. See also *Diari*, 2, fol. 2, fol. 36^{r-v}.
49. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, G (II.a.6), fol. 45^{r}: 'Si homo generatur, quod simul ipsius animus generetur, et quod in semine hominis potestate insit animus, et postea in actu traducatur, cum primùm foetus homo appellari potest. Quam propositionem probat (sed malè) ex Aristotele, ex rationibus, et sacris litteris. Illas autem probationes solvit D. Thomas prima parte q. 118. a. 2. ubi ponit censuram et ibi Cajetanus.'
50. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, Y (II.a.21), fol. 263^{r}: 'In librum .3.um de anima cap. 5 fol. 333. quaerit de principio animae rationalis; et eam sententiam sequitur, quae asserit illam non à Deo creari, et corporibus infundi, sed generari ex potentia materiae, ut animae reliquorum animantium. Idque ex sacris Scripturis, atque authoritate Aristotelis conatur probare. Haec tamen doctrina est contra fidem, et contra communem Ecclesiae, et Patrum sententiam. fuit verò haeresis Luciferianorum, ut refertur in lib. de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus. Eam etiam tenuerunt Tertullianus, et Apolinaris, ut testatur S. Augustino in lib. de Haeres. Ad quod vult Deum. cap. 86. et asseritur in Dialogo qui ex eius, et S. Hieronimi scriptis collectus est. Et etiam affirmat S. Thomas 2° contra Gentes. cap. 86.'

51. See the annotation in ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, Y (II.a.21), fol. 263[r].
52. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1598, fol. 296[v]: 'Caesaris Cremonini lectoris publici Paduae, qui legit de Anima ad mentem Alexandri Afrodisei lectis literis Inquisitoris Veneti datis 12 superioris mensis Ill.[mi] etc decreverunt et ordinaverunt quod scribatur episcopo et Inquisitori Paduae, ut se informent, et provideant.'
53. For a concise reconstruction, see Leen Spruit, 'Cremonini nelle carte del Sant'Uffizio romano', in *Cesare Cremonini. Aspetti del pensiero e scritti*. Atti del Convegno di studio (Padova, 26–27 febbraio 1999), ed. by Ezio Riondato and Antonio Poppi, 2 vols (Padua: Accademia Galileiana, 2000), I, 193–204.
54. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1604–1605, p. 256: 'Lectis literis Episcopi et Inquisitoris Paduae datis die 18. et 10 huius, in quibus significant clarissimos rectores censere non esse capiendas informationes contra Caesarem Fremoninum (*sic*) publicum professorem Philosophiae super contraventione praecepti de non legendo: animum esse mortalem iuxta mentis Aristotelis.'
55. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1607, fol. 146[r].
56. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1614, pp. 253–54.
57. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1614, pp. 452–54.
58. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1619, pp. 146–47.
59. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1619, p. 206: 'Inquisitoris Paduae lectis literis datis die X.[a] maij, quibus scribit significasse Cesari Cremonini observationes nuper factas ad apologiam de quinta Caeli substantia, antequam illam imprimeret, et tunc respondisse, solutionem argumentorum Aristotelis contrariorum fidei christianae, non spectasse ad philosophum, sed ad theologum, cui ipse se promptè subscribet, ac etiam subiunxisse quod si id Sacrae Congregationis non plenè satisfecisset, non de occasione ulterius scribendi.'
60. ACDF, Index, *Diari*, 3, fols 106[r]–109[v]; cf. *ILI*, XI, 254.
61. ACDF, SO, St. St., N.4.c, fasc. 18, fol. 17[r–v] (unnumbered folios).
62. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, EE (II.a.27), fols 31[r]–34[r].
63. Daniel Sennert, *Hypomnemata physica:* I. *De rerum naturalium principiis*; II. *De occultis qualitatibus*; III. *De atomis & mistione*; IV. *De generatione viventium*; V. *De spontaneo viventium ortu* (Frankfurt: Caspar Rotel for Clement Schleich and associates, 1636).
64. Sennert, *Hypomnemata physica*, pp. 259–60.
65. *Summa theologiae*, q. 118, art. 2.
66. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, EE (II.a.27), fol. 31[r].
67. He cites: *De potentia*, q. 9; *Summa contra Gentiles*, book II, ch. 86, in particular the polemics against Apollinaris.
68. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, EE (II.a.27), fol. 32[r–v].
69. The Sadducees denied the immortality of the soul and the existence of angels, and maintained the religious law in all its strictness. Many of their ideas and practices resurfaced in medieval Jewish sects after Pharisee ideas dominated among the dispersed Jews of the Western Roman Empire.
70. ACDF, Index, *Diari*, 4, fols 62[r], 63[r]; cf. *ILI*, XI, 828.
71. Domenico Beccoli was a nobleman from Gubbio.
72. ACDF, SO, *Decreta,* 1642, fol. 4[v]: 'Literis Inquisitoris Eugubij datis 30 Decembris rescribatur D. Dominicum Beccolum olivetanum se portasse in hoc S. Offitio, et fuisse receptum librum Danielis Sannarti.'
73. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1642, fol. 10[v].
74. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1642, fol. 20[r–v]: 'et precipuè circa propositionem Probabile est anima rationalis non produci à Deo, sed propagari per generationem viventium ex vi benedictionis Dei crescite, et multiplicamini'.
75. ACDF, SO, St. St., O.1.a, fasc. 20, fols 150[r], 151[r]–152[r].
76. For the 'canonical' classification of heterodoxy, see, inter alia, ACDF, SO, St. St., O.1.d, fasc. 1, fols 1[r–v], 5[r], where the following scale of heterodoxy is presented: 'haeretica', 'erronea', 'sapiens haeresim', 'male sonans', 'piarum aurium offensiva', 'scandalosa', 'temeraria', 'schismatica', 'injuriosa', 'impia', 'blasphema', and 'impertinens'.
77. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1642, fols 23[v]–24[r]: 'Relata Censura PP. Theologorum qualificatorum huius Sancti Officij facta ad propositionem de anima, quam disputandam proposuerat D. Dominicus

[24r] Beccolus Eugubinus Monacus Olivitanus, videlicet Probabile est Homo non creari à Deo, sed propagari per generationem ex vi benedictionis Dei et per semen veluti vehiculum traduci in sobolem. Em. DD. audito etiam eius examine facto in hoc S. Officio, habuerunt propositionem pro erronea, mandaruntque per dictum D. Dominicum fore retractationem iuxta formam sibi proscribendam.'

78. Antonio Rocco, *Animae rationalis immortalitas simul cum ipsius vera propagatione ex semine, via quadam sublimi peripatetica, non hactenus post Aristotelem signata vestigiis, exercitationis philosophicae illibataeque veritatis gratia indagatur* (Frankfurt: Hertz, 1644).
79. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1644, fol. 160v.
80. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fols 80r–84v.
81. *ILI*, XI, 778.
82. See the pronouncements on Beccoli above.
83. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fol. 80r.
84. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fol. 80v.
85. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fol. 81r. For the scale of heterodoxy, see note 75.
86. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fol. 81v.
87. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fol. 82v.
88. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fols 83r, 84v.
89. ACDF, Index, *Protocolli*, DD (II.a.26), fol. 84v.
90. ACDF, SO, *Decreta,* 1650, fol. 154r–v: 'Lecto memoriali exhibito nomine N. Poenitentis, qui dubitavit circa Infernum, Purgatorium, remissionem peccatorum, et Immortalitatem Animarum; Em.mi DD. concesserunt facultatem Confessario Oratorum absolvendi in foro Conscientia praevia verbali abiuratione in actu Sacramentalij Confessionis.'
91. ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1653, fol. 24v: 'Lecto memoriali exhibito N. Paenitentis, qui perstitit aures quibusdam personis dicentibus animam esse mortalem, super qua propositione dubitavit, et supplicat absolvi in foro conscientiae. EE. DD. voluerunt concedere, sed denunciet Dogmatis Censori.'
92. See the previous note, and ACDF, SO, *Decreta*, 1655, fol. 49r: 'D. Sebastiani Baliani Plebani Terrae Bastiae petentis facultatem absolvendi quendam presbiterum, qui de immortalitate animae, de divinitate Christi, et de alijs articulis fidei Catholicae dubitavit, ac cum ipso dispensandi super irregularitate hac occasione contracta, ac etiam quia aliquos blasphemantes audivit, et non denunciavit S. Offitio; Decretum ei scribendum ut dictum presbiterum absolvit in foro conscientiae, et cum eo super irregularitate dispensat, dummodo primis se disponat ad deponendum in S. Offitio blasphemos haereticales, quos audivit, et non alias.'

Ptolemaic armillary sphere, Italian?, *c.* 1580. Owned by Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632), 'The Wizard Earl'. (Reproduced by kind permission of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford.) Northumberland owned several works by Giordano Bruno, including a copy of *De gli eroici furori* on which he made vocabulary annotations, probably in 1611–14, when he was imprisoned in the Tower of London following the Gunpowder Plot. It was Hilary Gatti who first brought this important collection to the attention of Bruno scholars. See items 11, 13 and 17 in the Bibliography.

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